UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE
3 1761 01889452 7

UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE
LIBRARY

THE LIFE OF THOMAS COUTTS BANKER II

UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

POEMS

Crown 8vo

THE BODLEY HEAD

THOMAS COUTTS
From an engraving by R. W. Sievier of an oil painting by Sir W. Beechey, R.A.

THE LIFE OF THOMAS COUTTS

BANKER

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS
IN TWO VOLUMES: VOLUME TWO

BY ERNEST HARTLEY COLERIDGE

LONDON: JOHN LANE, THE BODLEY HEAD, W.
NEW YORK: JOHN LANE COMPANY MCMXX

Printed in Great Britain
by Turnbull & Spears, Edinburgh

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
XVI.	A Chapter of Accidents	1
XVII.	Toulon and After	37
XVIII.	Debt and Interest	59
XIX.	The Cardinal of York, and Mr "Coutts, Banquier de la Cour à Londres"	85
XX.	The Road to Brentford	120
XXI.	Thomas Coutts and the Duke of Kent	145
XXII.	Thomas Coutts and all the Royal Family	181
XXIII.	Thomas Coutts and the Duchess of Devonshire	204
XXIV.	Harriot Mellon	226
XXV.	Thomas Coutts and Harriot Mellon	238
XXVI.	From Piccadilly to the Tower—and After	261
XXVII.	A Bundle of Love Letters	281
XXVIII.	Twice Married—Once Wed	311
XXIX.	A Family Quarrel	328
XXX.	Lady Hester Stanhope	346
XXXI.	The Beginning of the End	363
XXXII.	The End	391
	Appendix	401
	Pedigree of the Coutts Family.	
	Pedigree of the Steuarts of Allanbank.	
	Index	405

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

THOMAS COUTTS. (*From an engraving by R. W. Sievier of an oil painting by Sir W. Beechey, R.A.*) . *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

SOPHIA, LADY BURDETT (BORN COUTTS). (*From a miniature in the possession of the Lord North*) 18

CHARLOTTE STUART, DUCHESS OF ALBANY. (*From a painting by N. D. Hamilton, R.S.A., in the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland*) 50

GEORGE AUGUSTUS, THIRD EARL OF GUILFORD, NINTH BARON NORTH. (*From an oil painting by (?) Richard Cross, in the possession of the Lord North. Photogravure by Emery Walker*) 70

SUSAN, COUNTESS OF GUILFORD (BORN COUTTS). (*From a miniature in the possession of the Lord Latymer*) . . 76

HENRY BENEDICT, CARDINAL OF YORK. (*From a drawing in pastels, in the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland*) . 110

FANNY, MARCHIONESS OF BUTE. (*From an oil painting by Sir Thomas Laurence, R.A., in the possession of the Marquis of Bute. Photogravure by Emery Walker*) 114

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT. (*From a drawing by Adam Buck*) . 120

"THE SCUM UPPERMOST, WHEN THE MIDDLESEX PORRITCH-POT BOILS OVER" 126

FACSIMILE OF THE HANDWRITING OF THE COUNT ROEHENSTART 142

FACING PAGE

H.R.H. The Duke of Kent. (*From an engraving by Thomas Wright, after George Dawe, R.A., in the possession of Mr John Lane*) 160

Andrew Dickie, Esq., Partner in the Bank (1827). (*From an oil painting in the possession of Messrs Coutts & Co.*) 200

Henry, Viscount Melville. (*From a medallion in porcelain, in the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland*) . . 212

Alexander Trotter of Dreghorn. (*From a pencil sketch in the possession of Messrs Coutts & Co.*) . . . 216

Old Wells and Pump Room, Cheltenham . . . 236

Long Walk, Cheltenham 238

Harriot Mellon as "Volante." (*From a coloured engraving of an oil painting by Sir W. Beechey, R.A.*) . . 246

Holly Lodge, Highgate. (*From a pencil sketch in the possession of the Lord Latymer*) 258

"Progress of the Warrant" 262

"A New Cure for Jacobinism, or a Peep in the Tower" 268

"The Burdettites Hoax'd" 276

Susan, Countess of Guilford, with her daughter the Lady Susan North. (*From an oil painting in the possession of the Lord North. Photogravure by Emery Walker*) 288

Harriot Coutts. (*From a water-colour painting in the possession of the Lord Latymer. Photogravure by Emery Walker*) 310

FACING PAGE

THE LADIES MARIA AND SUSAN NORTH. (*From a painting in oil in the possession of the Lord North*) . . . 328

THOMAS COUTTS. (*From a silhouette in the possession of Messrs Coutts & Co.*) 362

THOMAS LORD ERSKINE. (*From an oil painting by Sir W. C. Ross, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery*) . . 374

DAVID STEWART, ELEVENTH EARL OF BUCHAN. (*From a crayon sketch in the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland*) 378

THOMAS COUTTS. (*From a statue by Sir F. L. Chantrey, now in the possession of Messrs Coutts & Co.*) . . . 394

HARRIOT, DUCHESS OF ST ALBANS. (*From a miniature in the possession of the Lord Latymer*) 398

THE LIFE OF THOMAS COUTTS BANKER II

THE LIFE OF THOMAS COUTTS BANKER

CHAPTER XVI

A CHAPTER OF ACCIDENTS

"Marriage, and death and division
Make barren our lives."

A. C. SWINBURNE.

THERE is one text which the English nation has thoroughly mastered, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof!" The signs of the times do not attract its attention, or awaken its curiosity. Across the Channel a burning fiery furnace was consuming those who had heated it, but the smoke cleared as it was blown across the sea, and the sparks went out as they fell on English ground. England had no use for burning fiery furnaces. The year before the first war with the French nation has been compared to the hush before the storm. There was trouble in Ireland. The Catholics were exacting and unreasonable, and they might, or might not, be indulged and pacified. In India there was rebellion and conflict, and victory of a kind, but at home there was "unexampled prosperity." Of course there were mutterers and fire-brands and unspeakable persons who encouraged the mob, but there were short and even shorter ways of dealing faithfully with these maligners of the constitution. Save for these "filthy dreamers" all was well with the nation. Pitt who was afterwards to be

arraigned in a "sport of fancy" as the master-spirit of Fire, Famine, and Slaughter, began the year by cutting off taxes and cutting down the army and the navy. Coutts does not seem to have shared his optimism, and grumbles at being kept at his post by rumours of war and of reform. Indeed he is full of complaints of the weather (there were "fires in July"), and of his wife's health and of his own, and last but not least, of the singular dearth of suitors for his daughters or his ducats. He tells the Duchess of Devonshire that he had hoped for a son-in-law to carry on the business in the Strand, but more than one visit to Lord Montague of Cowdray point to other hopes and higher ambitions.

In the early spring of 1793 the old Laird of Crawfurdland passed away. He had evidently been failing for some time past, and though Coutts advises him to push on his "Memorandum" for presentation to the Prince of Wales, and to make favour with the Government by raising a corps on "promoting" the Militia, he must have known that his friend's life was drawing to a close. The Colonel had often talked of passing over his next of kin, a fourth cousin, and leaving the ancestral castle and "wat'ry acres" of Crawfurdland to "Miss Fanny," and in a letter written on February 13, Coutts reminded him that "life at all ages is uncertain," and urges him to take the necessary steps to secure the inheritance. Five days later a letter comes in another hand, in which the Colonel gives a bad account of himself; and, again, Coutts writes to urge him to make haste. This letter seems to have taken effect, for within a few days of his death, some eight weeks too late for Scottish law, the estate was conveyed either to Fanny Coutts or to her father. Needless to say the heirs-at-law intervened, and in 1806, after prolonged litigation, the House of Lords gave a final decision in their favour.

The letters of Lord Stair and Colonel Crawfurd give a detailed account of the principal events of Tom Coutts' life, and when they come to an end there are breaks and

gaps in the record. For a time he seems to have made Caleb Whitefoord the depository of his sentiments and reflections on events of national importance and the politics of the day. He appears to have been an out-and-out opponent of the first war with France, which he regarded as unjustifiable in its motive and financially ruinous. He refuses to take for granted that because the French were rent and torn with revolutionary fury, that they could not fight, or had not been, or would not be, victorious on the field. It is both curious and instructive to compare the plain statements of the wealthy financier, who had no small stake in the country and who knew at first hand that when nations were at war someone must pay, with the impassioned rhetoric of the lecturers and poets who were denounced and shadowed as visionaries and agitators. Both are in the same tale. We may guess that he reserved his strictures on the Government for the private ear of one or two friends whom he could trust, for he seems to have retained the confidence of persons of leading, if not of light, who were deaf to argument and beside themselves with the fury of reaction. With the unreason of Jacobinism he had no sympathy whatever, but in an evil day, when to plead for equity between man and man was a mark of hypocrisy and disloyalty, he looked to justice, and not violence, as the bulwark of the constitution. He had just that touch of enthusiasm which lifted him above the best of his kind and class. With every reason for being, and every excuse for becoming *l'homme moien sensuel*, he could not help thinking for himself and feeling for others—faculties of more enduring quality, and more to be desired than much fine gold.

The years that followed brought both joy and sorrow to father and daughters. The first of the "Three Graces" to be wooed and won was the youngest, Sophia. Born about the year 1779, when she was barely nineteen years of age she married (August 3, 1798) Francis, grandson of Sir Robert Burdett, Bart., of Foremark, near Repton in

Derbyshire, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Charles Sedley. His father, Francis, had married an heiress, who had brought with her another estate, Ramsbury in Wiltshire, and had died some ten years before. Francis the younger (the name may be traced back to a maternal ancestor, William Frauncys of Foremark, father-in-law of Sir Thomas Burdett) was born January 25, 1770. He was a clever, handsome youth, and the eldest son of an only son of a man of wealth and long descent. He had travelled on the Continent, making a prolonged stay in Paris during the opening scenes of the French Revolution. They must have been a striking pair—he with clear-cut, finely-moulded features and an air of delicate refinement; she tall and handsome, with raven locks and flashing black eyes, betokening a strain of gipsy blood, inherited, so it is said, from the Couttes (or Colts) of Aberdeenshire. If, as we may suppose, he was already destined for a Parliamentary career, he would be dependent on father and grandfather, and the comparatively modest dowry of £25,000 which Sophia Coutts was bringing him, would not be superfluous or unwelcome. One wedding seems to have made more, for, as we gather from a single ambiguous sentence in one of Tom Coutts' letters, Fanny, the middle daughter, had given her affections to Charles Sedley Burdett, a younger brother of the heir, and Susannah, the eldest, was openly engaged to be married to Viscount Montague of Cowdray.

After the marriage Tom Coutts, with his wife and daughters, had taken a tour in the North of England, and were intending to visit in the late autumn the bride and bridegroom at Foremark, when, as he says, he was "overtaken by a cruel express," who conveyed the melancholy tidings that Montague and Sedley Burdett had been drowned in a mad attempt to rush the Falls of Schaffhausen in an open punt. It is difficult to imagine a more sudden or a sadder overthrow of innocent hopes and expectations,

the ease and enjoyment of the moment, the prospect of a happy reunion in the near future, crushed and smitten to dust and ashes. The one who seems to have suffered most was Fanny, always of a nervous and highly-strung temperament, and it was long before she recovered from the shock, and the destined visit to Foremark—under what altered conditions!—was finally paid at the beginning of the next year.

Tom Coutts reverts to this calamity over and over again, concerned more for his daughter's health and happiness than the failure of a cherished scheme.

It was partly to take up his own thoughts and to provide change and diversion for his wife and daughters, that he resolved somewhat reluctantly and with many lookings back, to resign his old quarters in the Strand as a permanent residence and to move westward to a gayer and more fashionable part of the town. "The Bustle of the World" appealed to him and might bring back his daughters to a livelier interest in every-day life. Lord Fitzwilliam's house at the corner of Stratton Street was to let, and Mr Burdett, who had just lost his father, was minded to take a lease and to share his house with his wife's mother and sisters. A year later the house and its contents were sold to Tom Coutts, and there, so long as he lived, with one short break, he made his home.

Correspondence

January 4, 1792, *to November* 30, 1793

I

Thomas Coutts to Colonel J. W. Crawfurd.

Fourth of January, 1792.

Wishing you many happy New Years.

My Dear Sir,

I am sorry to see by your obliging letter of the 28th that we must not expect to see you yet awhile. I

am happy that I never yet had a law suit either in Scotland or England and I hope to leave the world without one.

I flatter myself about the 20th of January to hear of your coming to London. The ladies are still at Sir Edwd. Hughes', very well and very happy without any thoughts of matrimony. Indeed I sincerely believe not one of the three ever had a wish or an intention or a thought of such matters.

No news can be expected soon from India, unless Ld. Cornwallis should patch up a peace, and, if he does, I fear it will be neither good nor durable. Many people think he will succeed against Seringapatam [1] in December, but we cannot hear of that till April or May. I confess I fear much his being so greatly in the power of the Mahrattas who are our allies in the Carnatic, but our natural enemies in Bengal.

Farewell, my Dear Sir,
and believe me, sincerely yrs.,
T. COUTTS.

II

Thomas Coutts to Sir George Staunton.[2]

Saturday Night, January 14th, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

I wish I could see you for a moment as I would

[1] Seringapatam was stormed and the citadel taken December 21, 1791, but the position was afterwards abandoned. It was not till May 3, 1799, that it was finally taken by the British, under Lord Wellesley. Coutts' prediction with regard to the alliance with the Maráthá Lords was verified by later events. They co-operated with Cornwallis in his second investment of Seringapatam in 1792, when a peace was concluded which was not durable, but afterwards and under French influence, more or less threw in their lot with Tipú.

[2] Sir George Leonard Staunton, 1737-1801, was born in County Galway. He began life as a doctor of medicine, but afterwards turned to literature. About the year 1760, he was introduced to Dr Johnson and so far won his approval as to carry with him his kind wishes when he quitted England for Guadeloupe. It is possible that Johnson made him known to his future patron and ally, Lord Macartney. In 1792 Macartney appointed him secretary and minister plenipotentiary to the embassy to China, and early in that year he started for Italy in quest of an interpreter, and at the Chinese college in Naples two young men who had been trained as

have been better able to explain some things in person than in writing. I shall be at home all this evening so that if you can drive here I hope you will. If you do not, I will, on Tuesday, send to you as desired a proper letter of credit to serve for France, Italy, and Switzerland.

The inclosed private letter to Mr Jenkins [1] I beg you to attend to—and I think may be of great use.

Monsignor Erskine,[2] the Senator, and Mr and Mrs Ciceiaporci all may serve you in the Vatican. I send you also a letter to Messrs Cutler and Heigelin at Naples, which I hope may be of use.

As to the ministers at Turin, Florence, and Naples, I am very particularly acquainted with them all, but you want no recommendation to them.

I am, my Dear Sir,
Wishing you every success,
Your faithful and obedt. servant,
T. COUTTS.

III

Thomas Coutts to the Countess of Chatham.

STRAND, *21st January*, 1792.

MADAM,

. . . . . I believe the accounts you must receive of Lord Chatham and Mr Pitt's health as well as of the happy account they can render to Parliament of the growing prosperity of this country, must greatly contribute to your comfort and happiness ; indeed, I believe the produce of the Taxes, the increase of Arts and Manufactures, the

missionaries by Italian priests, and could speak both Latin and Italian as well as Chinese, were chosen for the post.—*Lord Macartney, our First Ambassador in China*, 1908, pp. 175-6.

[1] Banker and art dealer in Rome, an old acquaintance of Thomas Coutts.

[2] For Monsignore Charles Erskine, whose name is often mentioned in Coutts' letters to the Comtesse d'Albestroff (Clementina Walkinshaw), *vide post*, p. 53, *n.* 1. Mr and Mrs Ciceiaporci were kinsfolk of the Stuarts of Allanbank. By the "Senator" Coutts most probably refers to Sir John Cox Hippisley, M.P. for Sudbury. He, too, was related by marriage to the Stuart family, *vide ante*, vol. i.. p. 128.

high price of Stocks, and the prospect of even redeeming the expense of the American War, exceed the expectation of the most sanguine, while it astonishes men of more desponding tempers. . . .

Lady Chatham had the goodness to take my three daughters under her protection to St James's on the Birthday and made them very happy by her kind treatment of them, which, to do them justice, they are not incapable of feeling as they ought. They tell me that both her Ladyship and Lord Chatham were looking uncommonly well.

I am, Madam [etc. etc.],
THOMAS COUTTS.

IV

Thomas Coutts to Colonel J. W. Crawfurd.

Second March, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am favoured with yours of 25th but sorry to find your motions still uncertain. However I hope it will end in your coming to us this season. Delays I never liked. They are dangerous, and no time is like the time present.

I believe it is generally admitted that the argument on the Russia business[1] was in favour of opposition, but it is still more clear and mathematically true that the ministry on the division out-numbered their opponents

[1] It was a question of balance of power. Pitt thought that Russia should be humbled, and the Turks supported. Fox and the opposition were in favour of an entente with Russia, invoking her retention of Oczakoff and the adjoining territory on the northern coast of the Black Sea. A vote of credit to defray the expense of sending a fleet to the Baltic and a squadron to the Black Sea was submitted to Parliament, on February 28, and passed in the teeth of the opposition. The "armament" as it was called was unpopular with the people at large, and above all in the city of London, and when it was brought home to Pitt that he could not rely on the support or even the neutrality of Russia and Austria, an ultimatum to Russia which had been prepared was withdrawn. Coutts was right about the "Russia business" and about Pitt. Pitt was Minister (save from 1801-1804) "for two more seven years" as Coutts predicted.

two to one, and that not one convert was made notwithstanding the wonderful oratory displayed on both sides of the question.

There is also a certain existing fact that Mr Pitt is very popular in this country, notwithstanding he has been already minister one seven years, and likely to continue so for two seven years more; and though it is known that no man in his station ever had so many personal friends as his opponent, Mr Fox.

Adieu, my Dear Sir,
Believe me yours ever,
T. COUTTS.

I have just been to pay the last duty to poor Sir Joshua Reynolds at St Pauls'.[1]

V

Thomas Coutts to Colonel J. W. Crawfurd.

STRAND, *27th March* 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

So I fear you are not coming to us. The young ladies were desirous of going to Fozard's but wanted their Aide-de-Camp and Chaperon, and Fanny has not been so well these last three weeks. She was taken ill one night at the Duchess of Cumberland's,[2] and has had a return of her nervous complaints. I hope they'll go off, but they are dreadfully alarming. She cannot stand London hours. Nothing begins now till Twelve *at night*. She must marry a farmer. She is always best in the country and on horseback. The other two go about still, but I think will knock up too, in the course of a little more time. I think we shall go at Easter for a week to Cowdray, for air and quiet.

[1] There were ten pall-bearers. "Richard Burke, Esq. and Thomas Coutts, Esq." followed side by side in the funeral procession. But the letter is wrongly dated. The interment in the crypt of St Paul's took place on Saturday the third of March. See *Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 1806, i. cxi., cxii.

[2] Anne, Dowager-Duchess of Cumberland, daughter of Lord Carhampton and widow of Christopher Horton of Catton Hall. She died in 1808.

I am in hopes your law-suits will determine and that you will still visit the Strand.

Jack Crawford is still confined, but I hope is getting well. He has suffered very severely. The wound in the foot too is still open. His brother the Colonel is at Paris at the gaming-table, supported I suppose *by it.* The Queen of France was very near being impeached and the King to have $\frac{\textit{abdicated}}{\textit{resigned}}$ the other day when Delapaert [? Delessert] was made the sacrifice. The Jacobins bear full sway and God knows how matters may end—but their present situation is miserable, and there are mad people and bad people here who wish us to act as foolishly as they have done, and *Ça ira* is the signal of sedition, but I hope will never be listened to in England.

Adieu—write soon and

Believe me ever yours,

T. COUTTS.

VI.

Thomas Coutts to the Countess of Chatham.

STRAND, *6th April,* 1792.

MADAM,

. . . As for myself, I have by no means been well for some weeks, but I do not mind that so much as the return my daughter (who was so ill) has lately had of some degree of her nervous complaints. I believe the shocking hours kept at the fashionable assemblies in London has been very much the cause, and that the fatigue is too much for her delicate system. She has lately stayed very much at home, with me, and I am in hopes she will continue to get better. The others hold out pretty well and partake *sufficiently* in the gaieties suitable to their age. I could have wished, however, they might have passed unnoticed by newspaper paragraphs. It was never my ambition to appear in print, and I conceived it one advantage of an humble situation that you might live unobserved.

I understand from every hand that barring the most

unforeseen accidents, there is the strongest probability that Lord Cornwallis will accomplish every purpose of the war in India, and I flatter myself we shall then be secure of long peace and tranquillity, and the continuance of the general prosperity which at present seems to exceed all expectation and makes this country the envy of all Europe. I am sure we cannot be too sensible of these great blessings, nor too zealous to preserve them.

I had the pleasure of seeing Lord Chatham a few days ago, looking better, I think, than for a great while past. . . .

I am, Madam [etc. etc.],
THOMAS COUTTS.

VII

Thomas Coutts to Colonel J. W. Crawfurd.

STRAND, *27th April*, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have been very ill these ten days and am still far from well. I am in hopes of getting out of Town for a few days but the ladies are much engaged and I do not like to interrupt their pleasure. Fanny is not vastly well neither, and does not go much out at nights. I am sorry you do not come to London. Capt. Kennedy is just come from Scotland, and tells me Lord Cassillis[1] has been ill again at Edinburgh. I fear he is very near his end. Here we have nothing but associations[2] to mend the constitution, reform the Parliament, etc. I wish they may not do mischief. We are very happy and should know when we are well. The war now begun, or declared at least, may lead to events unforeseen at present. It is

[1] David Kennedy, tenth Earl of Cassillis, died unmarried, 8th December 1792. He was succeeded by his kinsman, Captain Archibald Kennedy, the father of the twelfth Earl of Cassillis, and first Marquis of Ailsa.

[2] The Society of the Friends of the People; the Revolution Society; the London Correspondence Society, etc.

by no means unlikely, and, if it continues, that sooner or later this country may be involved.

Mrs Coutts and the ladies send you their best wishes. Accept My Dear Sir, the same from

Your faithful and obedient

T. COUTTS.

VIII

Thomas Coutts to Colonel J. W. Crawfurd.

STRAND, *Twenty Fourth May*, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have been reading your letter of the 16th to four ladies. They say you are very short, and since you decline coming to them they think you might have asked them to come to you. We have various schemes for the summer; one was Scotland and the Isle of Bute, which, had you invited us, we might have been the more encouraged to pursue. . . . . Mr J. Crawford talks of wintering in Lisbon, and it has also been recommended to me. I think it would be of use to you. But the continual rumour of war everywhere, and reformation, *i.e.* confusion, all countries are threatened with at home, makes it difficult or disagreeable to leave one's *post*.

To-morrow there is to be some general matters in the House of Commons, and the alterations in the Cabinet[1] add something to the apprehensions of the people. You are happy that have a quiet corner you can call your own in such times. We went to Oxford and staid ten days away. My health is somewhat better, though I am still unwell and much on the decline. Let me hear you are

[1] No changes in the Cabinet had as yet taken place, but Thurlow had been dismissed from the Chancellorship (May 16) and it was probable that he would be succeeded by Lord Loughborough. Coalition was in the air, and an attempt was being made to include the Duke of Portland and Fox in a "strong and united ministry." But nothing came of it. "For see how it is," said Burke, "Mr Fox's coach stops the way." *Life of Pitt*, by Lord Stanhope, 1861, ii. 159.

recovering, and will still be able to defend your country against domestic as well as foreign enemies.

All the ladies desire to be remembered, and I am ever,

Yours very sincerely,

T. COUTTS.

IX

Thomas Coutts to Colonel J. W. Crawfurd.

COWDRAY, SUSSEX,
10*th June*, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received here your kind letter of 31st ulto. very sorry to hear you still complaining. It has been in this country a very cold, damp season, many people ailing. We have here constant fires like winter —yesterday and to-day very wet and cold. Surely our seasons are not like those of thirty years ago, any more than the manners of these times resemble the past.

There seems to be a fermentation everywhere. I hear Mr Dundas has been burnt in effigy at Edinburgh. Accompanied with riots everywhere it appears like a man with a bad habit of body who breaks out with inflammation at every touch of a pin. At this fine old place we feel no trouble or inconveniency, but we must leave it to-morrow or next day. I think we shall go to Cheltenham a little; *where afterwards* I do not know; but if we should come to the Castle of Crawfurdland I fear you will find us too numerous and riotous for a sober dwelling.

I have a great desire to see the Pope again.[1] Lord Montague went there like you with his own horses, phaetons, dogs, and English servants, and proposes another trip. I hope soon to hear of your health being better and that you are fit to move, and pray believe me, Ever yours, very sincerely,

T. COUTTS.

[1] Coutts must have been presented to Pius VI. when he visited Cardinal York in 1791, but there is no record of the interview. The scene must be left to the imagination.

X

Thomas Coutts to the Duchess of Devonshire.

STRAND, 15*th June*, 1792.

MADAM,

I remember while I was abroad I thought it the most unfriendly thing possible your not writing to me, and I believe I told your Grace so, for I am very apt, especially with those I love or esteem, to be very free in expressing the sensations of my mind. Your Grace kindly reproaches me in two letters I have lately received of the same sort of neglect; but I am not conscious of having been remiss. I wrote twice I think since my letter (by the Courier Massin your Grace sent over), and I had scarce any thing more to say. Besides I imagined you was coming home.

We have been all for some weeks in the country, chiefly at Cowdray. Lord Montague came yesterday to town with us, and the same day I got your letter by Lord Duncannon.[1] We are now going to Cheltenham where Mrs Coutts used to find benefit, and she very much wants it at present, being really very ill. As to myself, I am quite broken down, and am sure I am ten years older than when I last saw your Grace. I wish much I could go to a better climate for the winter, but my two partners are both in ill-health and I am at a loss what to do with my business.

I laboured with pleasure at it for many years, always hoping my daughters would find me young men fit to take the oar from my hand; but they seem to me very unlikely to marry at all, and I think they now appear so much hurt with the world, that they are likely to continue as they are at least for some years. They wish much to see Italy again, and I have no dislike to indulge

[1] Frederick, Viscount Duncannon, afterwards Earl of Bessborough, married Lady Henrietta Spencer, sister of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire.

them if I could get away. Altogether I am not in a situation to be envied, and some disappointments and ill treatment I have experienced has a stronger effect upon me than it would perhaps at any other time; though indeed I have always had too much sensibility to bear the rubs and natural ills that flesh is heir to, and wonder much how I have ever arrived at threescore. Be assured, Dear Madam, however, there is no alteration in my regard for you, or that I do not often think of you. I have exceedingly regretted your too long absence from the Duke and from your family. Nobody allows more than I can do for love and affection to a sister, but there are ties nearer even than that.

Most sincerely and heartily I wish it may be true—you tell me the Duke is coming for you and that you are coming home—and propose to live three years in the Country. How happy for yourself, for your friends, and for *the Country*. I can conceive nothing so charming as the society you might have always made at Chatsworth or any other seat, and which I hope you still may make. How much preferable to a foolish time given to *gaming*, politics, and town life, fit only for those who have neither talents nor temper to fill the vacuum of life. My daughters all like the country best, and I only wish there were gentlemen of the same taste who could discover how happy they might make them. I should be glad however one of them would live in town, for the establishment I can give there is rather desirable and not easily to be found anywhere. Adieu my Dear Madam, Believe ever with the most affectionate regard,

and respects,

T. Coutts.

I wish much for a line to say you have got this letter and have burnt it; for I am sure it is unfit to be seen but with the allowance you can and have always the goodness to make for me.

XI

Thomas Coutts to Colonel J. W. Crawfurd.

CHELTENHAM, 11*th July*, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am sorry to find by your letter dated the 18th that you was then so much indisposed. . . . We have had dismal weather here for summer, fires every day as if it were January instead of July. The hay harvest only just begun, and I fear if it does not set in fine every thing will be very late. The last two days it has rained incessantly. Mrs Coutts has drank the water, but hitherto with very little appearance of advantage. She is poorly enough, and I am quite lame with the rheumatism, which has furiously attacked my limbs and I think we shall quit this place very soon, and as Mr Antrobus is not well we must go to town first—what next remains undecided. I made a promise to the late Lord Bute to see his Island last year, and the present Earl has written to me very kindly exacting the performance of it. He says his father's Ghost will haunt me if I do not come. I have it much at heart to go, and believe I shall, if possible next month, or beginning of September. In that case I shall lament your veto to coming to Crawfurdland, and pass by, with regret: but I hope you will be able to come to London in the winter. The ladies have three very good saddle horses here, and ride out constantly. The cold weather is favourable to that, and it is an ill wind blows no good.

Those I have conversed with here by no means like Lord Cornwallis's peace,[1] and think the conditions will never be fulfilled and probably the whole work may be to do again. It seems very odd after beating Tippoo that he should not have taken his capital.

I see by the papers, something relating to reform of your boroughs moved by Sir Tho. Dundas was seconded by the Lord Advocate. It looks if something would be really done. The danger of reforms when demanded by the people—*is*, the mob getting too much power, and

[1] February 1791.

bringing on anarchy and confusion as in France. Next Saturday will probably be a serious day at Paris.

Adieu, my Dear Sir,
Believe me,
Yours ever Sincerely,
T. COUTTS.

XII

Thomas Coutts to Colonel J. W. Crawfurd.

COWDRAY, SUSSEX,
24th Sepember, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR.

Some time after our return from Glostershire all my family were taken ill with violent colds—servants and all—and indeed these complaints were very general.

We had determined to go to Buxton for my rheumatism, and from thence to the Isle of Bute; but Mrs Coutts grew so very ill, we were detained in town, and, at last, growing somewhat better, we came down here above a fortnight ago for a few days to gain strength for the Northern Tour, which, particularly the Bute plan, I was anxious to accomplish for many reasons—particularly having made a promise (which I very seldom do in any case) to the late as well as to the present Lord Bute; but after getting pretty well and being to leave Cowdray next morning, and proposing three days after to have quitted London, unfortunately all our scheme was put an end to by Mrs Coutts and me having been very dangerously overturned in Lord Montague's post-chaise, in consequence of which Mrs Coutts, who got the worst of it, has kept her bed ever since. No bones were broken, but she was terribly bruised. We were to have called on Lord Adam Gordon in our way and taken him with us, and our mortification is the greater that we should have been at the marriage of my young friend Lord Mountstuart,[1] which having been a plan of his father's which he long

[1] John, Lord Mountstuart (1767–1794), son of the first and father of the second Marquis of Bute, married, Oct. 12, 1792, Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Patrick Crichton, Earl of Dumfries.

since mentioned to me I am happy to find is now to be accomplished. He is an excellent young man, and I hope his happiness will be equal to his merit and my wishes.

We now turn our eyes to the remainder of our winter plan of going to Italy, and I hope we shall get away next month. J. Crawford sets out on Friday. We shall have the comfort of meeting him in Italy and I shall be very happy if you will join us, but if you cannot I hope should you visit London in our absence you will take your residence in the Strand, which I hope you will find more agreeable than a common lodging. My daughters are very fond of this Italian journey, and it must be this year or never—if I make it out well I shall think Mrs Coutts and me have done enough, and for the remainder of life may stay quiet at home. That on our return we may find old England quiet, and all our old friends well is the sincere wish of

My Dear Sir,
Yours very sincerely,
T. Coutts.

They all send you their kind love.

XIII

Thomas Coutts to Colonel J. W. Crawfurd.

Strand, *29th October*, 1792.

My Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure of your letter dated October the 5th. Your lawsuits may oblige you to be in Edinburgh—otherwise Crawfurdland is a better place, and for a town, London the best of any.

Mrs Coutts is better, but not yet clear of the effects of her bruises. It is not easy to get the better of such accidents especially in advanced age. Mr John Antrobus continuing so ill makes it difficult for me to get away, otherwise we should have been gone by this time. The times, too, make travelling unquiet. John Crawford is at Paris and it is not very improbable he will come home again soon, unless he finds he can go to Italy through France by

SOPHIA, LADY BURDETT (BORN COUTTS)
From a Miniature in the possession of the Lord North

Lyons and Marseilles—which I believe he may do with great safety at present, and if he goes that way I believe we shall follow. There is no other way very fit except the long sea.

Pray how are affairs in Scotland? Somehow or other there are apprehensions here of some thing unquiet in that quarter, but I know not why it should be so. As to Ireland there is a foundation in the superior number of Catholics which will always give ground for alarms. I understand they give Lord Westmorland the Garter to please him.

I wish you would have been of our Italian Party, it would have cured your spasms and insured you some years' health.

The mystery of the King of Prussia's retreat must some time or other be cleared up, and indeed the Duke of Brunswick for his honour should explain it to the world. Otherwise his laurels will grow yellow.

Pray go and see my aunt Mrs Stuart at Dr Spens's, when you go to Edinburgh. She has few left now of our old friends. As to *Sir John* he is quite gone as I am told. It is lucky, however, for his family that he still lives.

Adieu, my Dear Sir,

Believe me ever yours,

T. Coutts.

I will write to you if we do not go to Italy in hopes you will come here.

XIV

Thomas Coutts to Colonel J. W. Crawfurd.

Strand. *First December*, 1792.

My Dear Sir,

I received your obliging letter of the 16th, Mr Jno. Antrobus still continues ill and absent, but my journey has been stopped by severe indisposition in my own family. Fanny and Sophia were taken ill both at once, and the inflammation became very critical. It is removed but neither of them are recovered and Fanny, in particular, I do not think is out of danger.

Mr Dundas is expected immediately, and the Parliament is to be summoned to meet—the 13 or 15th. I suppose you will see it in the Gazette to-night. Lord Sempill and Ld. Ed. FitzGerald [1] have had notice to quit the Army and I hear, in many things, strong proceedings are determined upon. I hope they will manage it well, though it is said they advise much with Lord Loughborough who, being violent with very little judgement, will probably mislead them—much is to be feared from that. As to coalitions—Lord Loughborough has been labouring to divide the Duke of Portland from Mr Fox, but I do not think he will succeed; so that, probably, he will go over alone, and be Chancellor soon.

The new mode of forming Government Associations of the People counter to the reformists appears to be very unwise. There ought to be force in Government to suppress seditious meetings. If there is not, that Government cannot stand. But we shall become like France, if we are to be governed by Clubs, and the Counter-reformist Clubs [2] are as illegal as the other.

[1] Lord Edward Fitzgerald was cashiered for attending a revolutionary banquet in Paris.

[2] The first of these "counter-reformist" clubs, an "Association for preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers," met at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, November 20, 1792. Six resolutions were preceded by a voluminous manifesto which comes to the point in the last sentence:—"We do as private men, unconnected with any Party or description of persons at home, taking no concern in the struggles at this moment making abroad, but most seriously anxious to preserve the true Liberty, and unexampled prosperity we happily enjoy in this kingdom, think it expedient and necessary to form ourselves into an Association for the purpose of discouraging in every way that lies in our power the progress of such nefarious designs as are meditated by the wicked and senseless Reformers of the present time; and we do hereby resolve and declare," etc. See *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, November 27, 1792. The disclaimer of party feeling, coupled with the definition of an opposite party is curious and interesting; but, perhaps, Mr John Reeves, the convener and chairman of the new association, knew what he was about, for Thomas Hardy the founder of the "London Correspondence Society for the Reform of Parliamentary Representation" admits that the old association suffered in consequence. *W. Pitt and the Great War*, 1911, p. 68.

As to Foreign affairs there would be nothing so good as to acknowledge the French Republic. They will be less formidable to us as a Republic than as a Monarchy, and by treaty with them more may be done to keep peace and quiet at home and elsewhere than by the united efforts of a Prussian Army and an English squadron.

Dumouriez is begun already to quarrel with the Brabantes. He has been taking their money, and sending away their corn—and paying them in Assignats at par. Money is wanted in France and it is supposed they are on the brink of famine. Perhaps a want of food may bring them to their senses.

I hope you have been to visit my Aunt. Dr Spens is a most worthy man, deserving of yr. acquaintance.

Adieu, My Dear Sir,
Believe me yours sincerely,
T. COUTTS.

XV

Thomas Coutts to Colonel J. W. Crawfurd.

STRAND, *22nd December*, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

I learn with much concern by your letter of the 15th that you have been so ill. It has also been my own case and all my family have also suffered. Indeed it has been a very sickly time in general. . . .

There are many who think war unavoidable, but I confess it is not my opinion, and I sincerely hope we shall have peace and that the evil spirit that has for some time been threatening us with insurrections at home will be repressed. As to reform of Parliament, or of laws, they should always be reforming and repairing. The Constitution with all its excellencies is not perfect, and is subject to dilapidations. But let such things be gone into temperately and at proper time. The truth is a good wise Minister should look before and do things before they are asked by the people.

I understand it is intended to do something immediately in the Scots Elections, both Counties and Boroughs. There has been a great deal of abuse poured forth on Mr Fox for his late conduct, but I cannot see on cool examination what it is he has done; and I believe he will be found as strenuous a supporter of the Constitution, *King, Lords and Commons* as any among them.

Mrs Coutts and my daughters send you their compliments and I am wishing you a happy Christmas,

Dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

T. Coutts.

XVI

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

Christmas Day, 1792,
in The Evening.

My Dear Sir,

We have drank your health to-day being the second day of Fanny coming down to the drawing-room —though she can hardly walk across it. The other two have recovered.

Mrs Coutts and me are not well—we are but so so—which is almost as much as threescore can expect especially in bad weather. Pray tell us how *you do at* Bath. I hope you are not too loyal, for I am always afraid of extremes.

Be so good as to call on Mrs Gasthart [1] [?] and present all our compliments to her; as we cannot go to Italy it is not impossible we may go to Bath in the Spring. Bath is I think most pleasant when you can get out of it.

I am thinking in spite of the winter and rough weather to go to be boild (*sic*) for the rheumatism at Buxton.

Believe me, yours very sincerely,

T. Coutts.

[1] Probably Mrs Garthshore, the wife of the physician in whose house in St Martin's Lane Coutts and his wife lived when they were first married.

XVII

Thomas Coutts to Colonel J. W. Crawfurd.

SALTHILL,
11*th January*, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

I hope you have received a letter I wrote to you, directed to No. 7 "on the Terrace Edinburgh," *some days ago* from this place.

Brown begged and entreated me to write to you, and, indeed, I am so open and sincere in all my dealings that I never have any scruple in speaking out to any friend my sentiments, *as they are*. I shall be anxious to hear you have received it. Yesterday the Queen gave a grand ball at Windsor. Lord Grenville came to this inn to dress with Lady Grenville, and to-day Lord Huntly came to visit us and to give us all the *great news*. They all say war is inevitable. I would have you by all means make offer of your service; and offer particularly to raise a Corps, or to promote the Militia or Fencible Regiments, if any such measure of defence should be proposed.

Adieu,
My Dear Sir,
Ever Yours,
T. COUTTS.

If you make any memorial of service I will give it to the Prince of Wales.

Fanny has got vastly well and rides out twelve or fourteen miles every day. She is always well in the country.

XVIII

Thomas Coutts to Colonel J. W. Crawfurd.

STRAND, 11*th February*, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am but just come to town, and I did not answer your obliging letter while I was in the country, as I

immediately wrote about your business to the Duke of York and begged he would lay your case before the Prince of Wales, to whom I proposed giving your Memorial in proper form upon my coming to London; and I sent to His R. Hs., to serve in the meanwhile, a short memorial of your services. His Royal Highness called on me to-day and told me he had given my letter and memorandum to the Prince who desired him to assure me he would do you all the service in his power.

His R. H. is going very soon to Hanover to take the Command of the Electoral Army and has promised me he will remind the Prince of my letter; and, as soon as possible, I will now get Mr Meyrick to assist me in a proper memorial to be given to The Prince. He has lately changed many things for *the better*, and I hope among others the change of his banker is one. He came back to me this winter and has appointed me Receiver-General of all his Revenue, with the full approbation of His Majesty. This is to be a great day in the House of Commons, if they can make a House for the Ballots, which I dare say they will, as the Minister has written strong letters to enforce attendance.

War is now fairly begun. God grant us a good ending and " if England to herself do rest but true "—there can be no doubt of it. The Empress of Russia has declared *Monsieur* Regent of France, and it is believed that Prussia and Austria will do the same I should hope England would not; for our war with France is on different ground, as we do not want to meddle with their internal Government, more than we desire they should meddle with ours.

Fanny is better, but wishes to get again into the country.

Yours ever,
My Dear Sir,
T. COUTTS.

Excuse haste.

XIX

Thomas Coutts to Colonel J. W. Crawfurd.

STRAND, 13*th February*, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of the 7th still dated Edinburgh. I wrote to you on Monday the 11th directed to Crawfurdland which I hope will soon be forwarded to you. As you seemed anxious to get home I thought you might have been there, but I really think it will be much better for you to continue at Edinburgh till the month of April or May, for March is always a trying month for invalids.

I observe by your letter that your settlement stands at present in favour of Sir Hew Crawfurd who is a very distant relation to you, and I do not believe thinks of inheriting from you or would disapprove my daughter being your successor. As you seem to wish to take some steps with regard to Miss Fanny I think you should not delay, for life at *all ages* is very uncertain. I would go to the *spot* to inspect the premises, but at present, and, I fear, for some time I must be tied by the leg; for Mr John Antrobus continues incapable of business and Mr Ed. Antrobus in so uncertain a state of health that I must take another partner. I think of Mr Coutts Trotter who, I believe, you know. He is a very deserving young man, and clever. You are the first person I have mentioned it to as yet. As I cannot go soon to Scotland, could not you send me a Rental of the whole estate and the particulars of the debts? Then say, as you think to sell the whole would be the plan, how you wish that to be managed? I suppose I must be the purchaser for a sum certain, of which the debts, and such a sum as you please to be laid out in improving the lands and embellishing the castle are to be part — the rest to be an annuity equal to the clear income of the estate as it stands at present, payable by me to you during your life. And the whole, subject to the debt due to me, to be settled to go at your death to Miss Fanny. If you

will be so good to make your plan and send me any papers that may be required as materials I can get a Scots Solicitor here to proceed upon it without any writer about the Court of Session being consulted: meanwhile the will in favour of Sir Hew Crawfurd should be cancelled—and a new one made in favour of Miss Fanny.

Agreeable to my last I have this moment with Mr Meyrick's aid got a memorial on your behalf which I shall send this evening to The Prince of Wales.

I am, my Dear Sir,
Yours very sincerely,
T. COUTTS.

I think by your last your health was better, and I was very happy to observe it.

XX

Thomas Coutts to Colonel J. W. Crawfurd.

STRAND, 18*th February*, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your kind letter received to-day gave me the greatest uneasiness and I was much struck by seeing it not written as usual in your own hand. I hope in God, however, that I shall soon hear your health is better, and I flatter myself we may still have the pleasure of seeing you in London, and that our endeavours by means of the Prince of Wales and Duke of York to get you justice in the Army may succeed which I have much at heart.

The great kindness you have shown to me and my family I can never forget, but when I consider of your goodness I am the more afflicted by the bad account of your health.

I shall send the Bond you desire to Mr James Dundas by this post to be delivered. I thought it better to make my agent the medium for this, being a fair transaction, though done by me out of my regard, and to meet your wishes, in respect to the estate of Monkland.

I shall be impatient till I hear of your health, in which

Mrs Coutts and my daughters are equally interested. And be assured, my dear Sir, I am more anxious that your desires in respect to Crawfurdland should be fulfilled on account of its being *your* will, than on account of the advantage that is to result to me. The honour indeed of succession to so antient an inheritance I am very sensible of. That you may long enjoy it yourself is the sincere and ardent wish of, my dear Sir,

Your ever faithful,
and affectionate,
T. COUTTS.

I wish you would let Mr Walker show the deed of disposition of Crawfurdland to Mr Dundas as well as all the papers making your title to it. He is an intelligent and a worthy man.

XXI

Thomas Coutts to La Comtesse D'Albestroff.[1]

STRAND, LONDON,
3rd May, 1793.

MY DEAR MADAM,

I am very sorry that my absence from town has prevented my replying sooner to your obliging letter. You may be assured that I remember always your friendship with pleasure, and that nothing will make me more happy than to render you any service. Mrs Coutts and my daughters retain the same sentiments, and desire me to present their most affectionate remembrance. Lord and Lady Elcho and Lady Payne and Lord Bute are all in London and I shall not fail to mention you to them. At present I am but just come to town and have yet seen nobody. The Abbé Trevern too is in London, for I have seen his card upon my table.

I lose no time in writing the letter you desired to Lord Robert FitzGerald, and I sincerely wish if you have occasion to deliver it that it may be of use. I saw his

[1] For Clementina Walkinshaw, titular Countess d'Albestroff, *vide post*, pp. 44-52.

Lordship often at Paris, and since in London; but I never was in any intimate habits of friendship with him.

I am at present in haste but I shall, believe me, be always happy to hear from you, and beg you will write to me on receiving this that I may know it comes to hand.

Adieu. Believe me ever,
My Dear Madam,
Your very faithful and obedient,
T. COUTTS.

XXII

Richard Burke[1] *to Edmund Malone.*

May 6th, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

At the request of Mr Medcalfe (*sic*) Mr Coutts has been so good as to agree to advance my father four hundred and ten pounds *more* than at present stands in the excess accounts. This will be in full of the legacy. Mr Coutts is to be paid out of the first money received on the excesship account. For this purpose it is necessary that my father, Mr Medcalfe (*sic*) and yourself should join in a note to Mr Coutts for the £410 which will be taken up when the money comes in. I will therefore take the liberty of sending you a note signed by your co-exors by which I shall be obliged to you to add your name.

Believe me, sincerely yours,
RD. BURKE.

[1] Richard Burke (Jan. 1758—Aug. 2, 1794) was the eldest son of the great orator and statesman. The "prop of his age," "his other and better self," he died three years before his father, not long after he had succeeded him as M.P. for Malton. The letter is addressed to the Shakespearian editor and critic Malone, co-executor with the elder Burke, and Philip Metcalfe, M.P. for Horsham, under the will of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who had bequeathed to Burke a sum of £2000.

Metcalfe was one of the co-signatories of the Round Robin sent to Dr Johnson humbly to implore him to revise and amend his epitaph on Goldsmith.

I am indebted to the late Mr A. M. Broadley for a transcript of this letter then in his possession.

XXIII.

Thomas Coutts to the Countess of Chatham.

STRAND, 16*th August*, 1793.

MADAM,

I cannot sufficiently express my sense of your Ladyship's kind politeness to me on every occasion, particularly on the marriage of my youngest daughter to Mr Burdett. The match was of their own choice, and having met the approbation of all his family, I hope they will be very happy.

Mr Pitt honoured my humble roof with his company lately at dinner, and I took the opportunity *then* of presenting to him Mr Burdett and my three daughters. He told me he intended this month to pay your Ladyship a visit and I shall be very sorry if public affairs should disappoint his inclination. . . .

I am, Madam [etc. etc.],
THOMAS COUTTS.

XXIV.

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

GLYNLLIFON PARK,
25*th September*, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

I wish to hear of your health. Hope you have gone to Cheltenham as it has always done you good. Mrs Coutts and myself have been but poorly since we left London, but flatter ourselves we may get better—for we are very happy and all our family well and with us at this charming place quite at our ease in the most hospitable house you can conceive. On the King's Coronation day we had such a Jubilee as I cannot give you any adequate description of, but I have written on the other side a few lines which if you can make fit to be printed I wish you

would put into the newspapers. Lord Newborough's[1] Family have always been much attached to the House of Hanover, and as he has lately returned from a long residence abroad this instance of his loyalty may recommend him.

What think you of our public affairs? Do you think that there will rise a party of sufficient strength to support the beginners at Toulon for Louis 17th? or, if not, will Lord Hood on quitting that place be able to bring with him the French fleet? . . .

Nothing in Switzerland can exceed the beauty of this country, and Conway and Caernarvon Castle are as well worth seeing as most of the Roman ruins.

All the ladies salute you. Give our compliments to all friends. . . .

Yours ever,
T. COUTTS.

[*Enclosed.*]

"The anniversary of His Majesty's Coronation has produced all over the country, fresh proofs of His being really enthroned in the Hearts of His Subjects: — The rejoicings have been universal even to the remotest parts of the Kingdom :—

At Lord Newborough's near Caernarvon, the whole Day was a Jubilee, in which all His Lordship's neighbourhood were invited to partake. The Flag was hoisted and the Artillery fired in the morning, from a Fort adjoining His House. All sorts of English Country Games and Sports were celebrated in the Bowling Green and the adjoining apartments, where an Elegant Dinner was afterwards served and Toasts suitable to the occasion were liberally drank and warmly applauded.

In the Evening the Populace were regaled with Barrels of good Welsh Ale, round a Bonfire that made all Snowdon shine: and the night concluded with a Ball and masquerade at the Mansion-House of Glynllivon, which lasted till morning. These festivities received much animation from the addition of some Strangers of Fashion from

[1] Sir Thomas Newborough, M.P. for the county of Carnarvon, was created Baron Newborough in the peerage of Ireland, in 1776.

London, who expressed infinite satisfaction at the Elegance and propriety of the Entertainment, as well as the Hospitality and politeness of Lord Newborough, so strongly marked on the occasion."

XXV

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

GLYNLLIFON,
Sunday, 13th October, 1793.

I thank you, My Dear Sir, for your kind letters and for the newspapers—which pleased—and I have some idea may be useful to our host in a certain quarter; which, indeed, is what made me think of it. He is very polite and hospitable, and we have passed five pleasant weeks in a most beautiful country. We are just returned from a tour in Anglesea — or Mona. Lord Uxbridge's Seat and Lord Bulkeley's are well worth notice and the *Paris Mountain* (copper mine) is productive of much more good than things we read of in another country by similar names.

I hope the reign of absurdity and anarchy is near an end and will be succeeded by peace and good government and prosperity to Great Britain. When you can find a moment at leisure we shall always be happy to hear from you,—and if you mark it 'Private' and send it to the shop it will be speedily forwarded.

We shall leave this the day after to-morrow, but according to the plan we talk of we shall not reach Buxton for near a week. I think we shall not stay long there—at this season—but it may depend on the weather and other circumstances. All the ladies send you their kind wishes — and hope your health and spirits will long continue. My giddiness is very troublesome. I never was so giddy when I was young.

Yours ever,
T. COUTTS.

XXVI

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

BUXTON,
October 30th, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

Will you send this to Brown or give it him if he is in town. It will serve for you both, and I am really hardly able to write—or speak.

I have been very unwell and twenty miles from hence, we were overtaken by a very cruel express! giving Mr Burdett the shocking news of his brother Charles Sedley Burdett as [*sic*] most amiable young man together with Lord Montague [*vide infra*] having perished the 7th in the Rhine near Lucerne. We have arrived here and the whole family are by this calamity involved in such circumstances of complicated distress as are unequalled even in romance. God only knows the consequences or what will become of us! We meant to have gone immediately to Foremark—but are now unable to take any determination.

I shall be happy to hear from you or Brown or both directed here.

Adieu!

May Heaven preserve you from the like misfortunes!

T. COUTTS.

"Gentleman's Magazine," *N. S.* 1793. *Vol.* 63, *p.* 1054.

October. Unfortunately drowned at one of the falls of Schaffhausen in the Rhone, George Samuel [Browne] 8th Viscount Montague and [Charles] Sedley Burdett Esq., second son of Francis Burdett Esq., and grandson of Robert Burdett Esq. (*sic*) who inherited very considerable property from [his father-in-law] Sir Charles Sedley, Bart. His Lordship was the only son of Anthony the 7th Viscount by Frances, daughter of Herbert Mackworth Esq., and relict of Alexander Lord Halkerton. He was born June 26, 1769, and was at his return home to be

married to the amiable and accomplished Miss Coutts. . . . By his death the title of Montague is become extinct. . . . It is remarkable that the magnificent seat of Cowdray in Sussex built by Anthony Browne, about the close of the 15th century, was destroyed by fire the night of September 14, with all the family portraits and other valuable paintings of the events of Henry the VIII's reign, in the glory of which the family had shared. . . .

The unfortunate fate of the travellers was owing to a very rash attempt, from which no remonstrance could divert them. His Lordship, accompanied by Mr Burdett, was uncommonly anxious to pass the famous waterfall of Schaffhausen in Switzerland, which had hitherto been unattempted by any visitor. The magistrates of the district, having heard of the resolution of the travellers, and knowing that inevitable destruction would be the consequence of such an attempt, had ordered guards to be placed for the purpose of preventing the execution of it. Such, however, was the force of their curiosity, that they found means to elude every precaution. Having provided themselves with a small, flat-bottomed punt, as they were about to step into it Lord Montague's servant stopped short, and, as it were instinctively, seized his master by the collar, declaring that for the moment he should forget the respect of the servant in the duty of the man. His Lordship, however, extricated himself, at the expense of part of his collar and neckcloth, and pushed off immediately with his companion. They got down the first fall in safety, and began to shout and wave their handkerchiefs in token of success. They then pushed down the second fall, by far more dangerous than the first, from which time they have not since been seen or heard of. It is supposed that the boat, hurried by the violence of the cataract, jammed them between two rocks. The servant remained three weeks near the place, bewailing the fate of his beloved master, who in the prime of life had thus fallen a victim to his curiosity, while he was hourly expected at Midhurst, which owed so much to his ancestors, and the catastrophe of his seat near, which had not reached him.

XXVII

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

BUXTON,
[*November*] 1793.
Monday.

Many thanks for your kind letter, My Dear Sir! It comes to comfort us in the worst day (weather I mean) that we have had here. Fanny continues to suffer, but I think we shall go to Foremark, as I do not see how we can avoid it. Perhaps the exertion may be of service.

I would give anything for a house in Piccadilly. I have written on your hint, to the Duke of Dorset to enquire if he means to quit. Mr H. Holland writes me about Lord John Russell's in Hertford Street near Park Lane, but I would much prefer Piccadilly, or even, perhaps, Pall Mall. The bustle of the World is what I wish. There is nothing I think in St James's Street.

Lord Howe is very teasing. It is a title-page promising much. We shall soon see the end.

Adieu My Dear Sir!

Ever Yours,
T. COUTTS.

Pray is Sheridan's Theatre to open this season?

XXVIII

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

BUXTON, *St Andrew's Day*, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

I ought to be ashamed not to have acknowledged your kind letters: you who are so much acquainted with Shakespear will find in him something to fit every situation and circumstance attending human life, said too in the best and clearest manner:—The kindness of friends and their eagerness to assist us in cases of sorrow, is very

consoling because it proves to us that though we have lost some objects of our affections we have something left still that is worth our living for. But grief must have its course, and must be digested before amusements can please or be of use. The greatest danger to young minds especially those endowed with great sensibility, is the luxury there is in indulging grief (as in all the other passions of the mind) which carried to great excess becomes a disease not very easily to be cured. In our case there are a number of very peculiar circumstances which we find are difficult to surmount, but we must hope the best—" dissiper (sic) vous et le temps vous consolera " says some gay Frenchman.

Unfortunately these nervous faintings which have returned to poor Fanny makes it almost impossible to go into company. But she is better within these few days and I am in hopes we shall be able ere long to go to Foremark. But I can say nothing certain of our motions. I have had thoughts of Bath, but I am not sure whether London when we can get there may not be as well as any place.

I have been looking for a house in the country, but I believe for the present it will be better to avoid absolute retirement. I wish some good house in Piccadilly westward of Devonshire House could be obtained—ready furnished by the month or by the year. Mr Burdett would take one large enough for us all, and in our unsettled state something we are not tied to would suit us best. Lord Beauchamp's, I recollect to have heard was to be let, when he went abroad. It is too great, but it is better than too small. Perhaps in your walks and among your acquaintances you may hear of something that will answer.

Accept all our kindest remembrance, and believe me,

Ever Yours,

T. Coutts.

Pray give our best wishes to Mr Brown. I have lately had an aversion and inaptitude to writing which in me I think is a bad sign. I hope he and you will never be attacked by that disorder especially when I am absent

from London, for it is very pleasant to hear from our old friends. Brown may hear of a house as he knows everybody.

Many thanks for your news, but I am sorry not to hear more! I somehow distrust Lord Howe's success.[1] He would not be my Admiral. It is common among authors to raise our expectations without giving us anything solid at last. I hope this practice will not get into the fleet.

[1] For once, at least, Tom Coutts did not put his money on the right horse. At this time, Pitt's brother, Lord Chatham, was First Lord of the Admiralty and Howe, or "Black Dick," as the sailors christened their favourite, was in command of the Channel Fleet. During the whole of 1793 he played a waiting game, keeping his ships stationed off Spithead, and it is possible that there was a feeling at headquarters that more ought to have been done to support Lord Hood and the Spanish fleet before Toulon. But six months later Lord Howe did give us something "solid" enough, on the "glorious First of June!"

CHAPTER XVII

TOULON AND AFTER

CLEMENTINA WALKINSHAW

"Choose well, your choice
Is brief and yet endless."
From GOETHE'S *Wilhelm Meister.*

NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1794, was a day of questioning if not a day of trembling in these islands. It was a rude shock to insular pride and insular stupidity that a nation without a king and without an aristocracy could fight and win battles; and after the shock the fear remained that what France thought and felt to-day an unknown quantity of Englishmen might think and feel to-morrow. In a hitherto unpublished letter to Caleb Whitefoord dated January, 1794, Coutts animadverts on the "temporary possession of the town and fort of Toulon" (to quote the King's Speech of January 21, 1794), and proceeds to recite his creed on politics in general. He complains that the earlier successes of the campaign in Provence (*i.e.* at Ollioules, August 29, on the heights of La Grasse, September 21, and the Montagne de Faron, October 1), when the republican general, Jean François Carteaux was in command, were not followed up, and that after "other generals" came on the scene the Allies attacked the French forces at the wrong time and in the wrong way. Of Napoleon Buonaparte who had joined those forces about a fortnight after Carteaux, or of his organization and command of the artillery, he naturally knew nothing. With regard to the

burning of the ships " that important and decisive blow to the naval power of the enemy " (so ran the King's Speech), he asks why they were not sent away or burnt directly they fell into the hands of Hood and the Spanish Admiral Langara. It is possible that Coutts may have received private information from the letters of his cousin Sir Gilbert Elliot, Commissioner at Toulon, but disappointment and disapproval were felt and expressed by the public at large so far as it could form an opinion or make itself heard. It has been said that the Opposition seized upon the enforced evacuation of Toulon to belittle the government. " Toulon," said Fox, " purchased by compromise you have lost with disgrace; you have placed yourselves on a point of view entirely new to British character, you have proved yourselves neither useful as friends, nor efficient as enemies."

Fox judged by results, but if he could have quoted the documentary evidence of the tragedy of miscalculation, the comedy of ineptitude which modern research has brought to light, he might have added many like, and even bitterer words.

Indignation at Pitt's foreign policy leads Coutts on to formulate his " ideas " of good government at home. They have the interest and charm of the unexpected, and might have been put forward yesterday or to-day. Force is no remedy. When men begin to reason for themselves they must be reasoned with, for enlightenment and passive obedience do not follow as cause and effect. Social reform is a condition of security. There must be equity between man and man, but, as things are, equity does not exist. Inequity is at once the cause and the occasion of anarchy. If such " ideas " be platitudes they are not the favourite platitudes of the wealthy and the successful, and it is worthy of record that at the close of the eighteenth century, Thomas Coutts commends them to the careful consideration of " our Princes and Dukes."

In another letter to Caleb Whitefoord written at the

close of the year he gives proof of political insight, prophesying no good things but that which came to pass. Whitefoord had written (November 11), a sanguine letter in which he counts on the Duke of Brunswick as the saviour of Holland, and chuckles over the immediate dissolution and discomfiture of the "Carmagnoles." "Division and distrust prevail in the Convention and three numerous armies of Royalists are on foot in the provinces of Normandy, Brittany, and Poitou." But Coutts puts no faith in Prussia or Austria, and has little hope of the security of Holland. Still less has he any confidence in armies of Royalists; and he was wise *before* the event, as the disaster and ignominy of Quiberon were only too soon to testify. These letters display insight and foresight. Pitt did consult the "eminent banker" on questions of national finance, on loans and such like, but he might have done worse if he had consulted him on the wider issues of peace and war.

Correspondence.

January 1794—*November* 14, 1794.

I

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

[*January*, 1794.]

Saturday—Pardon such scrawling.

My Dear Sir,

I am much obliged by the piece of the newspaper received this morning. Exactness is a very uncommon thing, I think, in the World, and truth not every day to be met with neither. I do not think even *we* have much reason to boast of either in our accounts of public events. We have had victories after victories, for instance of the Duke of Brunswick, the issue of which is that we now find it is quite over with him and Wurmser; and we are ridiculing the French *Sans-culottes* and *Carmagnoles*—while they are actually beating the first

armies of Europe, carrying everything before them in all parts.

As to Toulon, even though the original measure were approved—(but indeed, for one, I never liked it) how stupidly has it been conducted! While Carteaux lay near there, when they might have beat, they never stirred out, but when other generals and more troops joined him they made a sally which was as ill-managed as it was ill-timed.

Why not have sent the French Fleet away at first—or if not, why keep it to the last minute, and till they were obliged to make an important attempt to destroy it by fire? I cannot think it certain that fifteen[1] were actually burnt though they may have been set on fire, and, besides, there are twelve stated to have been left entire. A day of reckoning will come when we shall be obliged to render an account of them. So far as I have observed, the facts published by the Convention have not often been far removed from the truth as it has at last come out. I am relieved, indeed, by finding Lord Hood's Fleet had not suffered in the storm. It is true, however, that there was a storm—and we do not yet know the extent of the damage—nor did the French account mention it.

With respect to French opinions—"The War made against their growth," seems to me, to be exactly the way to encourage instead of destroying them. There is no instance of opposition by force of Arms subduing opinions! which by such measures have always grown stronger and more inveterate.

And if we had prevented the invasion of France I firmly believe many of the enormities committed would have been prevented—nay such was *even last year* their dread

[1] "Of the thirty-one ships of the line in the harbour eleven were burnt, four sent away with the French seamen at the beginning of the siege . . . three were carried off by the English, and the rest saved. . . . Of the twelve frigates five entered the service of the English, one was given to Sardinia, three burnt, and the rest saved by the Republicans. There were thirteen corvettes, of which seven went to England, one to Spain, one to Naples, two burnt, and the rest saved by the Republicans." *Napoleon Bonaparte*, and *The Siege of Toulon* . . . by Charles James Fox, Washington, 1902, p. 101.

of the English name that we might have kept them within their own bounds—which is the utmost we ever should have attempted: The Pope's Mitre I do not think any more than the Prussian and Austrian tyranny is now worth many years' purchase God grant we may experience no revolution *even here*—for *here* it would be more dreadful than anywhere. Men are too much enlightened nowadays to be driven or deluded, and reason must be reverted to. You see where they are most enlightened, viz. in Scotland, they are most violent. It should be the business of a great Minister to foresee the storm, and the turn of the times and by wise and *gradual* measures, prevent the mischief and make such reforms by degrees as may suit best—retrenching useless sinecures, simplifying the customs, so as to make them as productive as the Excise, regulating the Clergy—above all getting the people at large easy access to law and right—for though no man can injure another rightfully and legally, be he ever so great or rich, yet it is too clear that a poor man can hardly get at his right at all, if a rich or litigious man disputes it with him. If we have no Minister to prevent such evils, they will accumulate till the people begin to cry out, and then comes the rascally part of the community with a few clever villains at their head under pretence of good, throwing everything into anarchy, confusion, blood, and ruin—which crisis may Heaven avert!

Such, my dear Sir, are my ideas walking about here solitary among wild mountains and a dismal country, oppressed with very many ailments myself, and my family depressed and ill with vexations and disappointments. I hope I see things through too gloomy a medium—but I wish our Princes and Dukes saw something in the same way, as it would at least put them on their guard—and make them act with more common sense than we have seen practiced by them in our times.

On Wednesday we shall go to Foremark and to Mr Mundy's at Markeaton near Derby—so that after Monday my direction will be Post Office, Derby.

Adieu, Ever Yours,

T. C.

II.

Thomas Coutts to the Countess of Chatham.

FOREMARK, nr. DERBY, *28th January*, 1794.

MADAM,

. . . I am in hopes my young family have a little recovered by the change of objects our removal to this place has afforded, and I believe we shall go to London some time in next month. We should have been there sooner but this house has been lately a house of sorrow, Mr Burdett's father and grandfather having been both confined by illness. The former, indeed, is still in bed, though we are in hopes somewhat better than he has been.

No consolation can be so great to me as that which your Ladyship's letter afforded me—I mean the marks of friendly regard from the persons I most esteem and regard —and I shall always remember with pride and satisfaction the proofs you have repeatedly honoured me with of remembrance and approbation.

The public papers have informed us of the strong approbation Parliament has given to Mr Pitt's measures in war, and I most sincerely wish to see the conclusion of peace follow speedily upon them, for the waste of human blood is shocking to humanity and the great expense must be felt severely in addition to the former public burdens with which the ruinous American War overloaded the country.

I am, Madam [etc. etc.],

THOMAS COUTTS.

III

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord

[*February*] *5th Wednesday*, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

I wish you would take the trouble of giving a Paragraph to some of the Papers—the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Oracle*, the *True Britain*, and any other you please,

that on "Monday last died at Foremark in Derbyshire, Francis Burdett Esq. only son of Sir Robert Burdett Baronet." This will prevent disagreeable enquiries being made to his son and much oblige

Yours sincerely,
T. COUTTS.

We leave this to-morrow and go to Oxford, to set down Mr Burdett's young brother at Auriol (*sic*) College. This is a very melancholy House at present and we have had too much of sorrow. I am sorry for Zenobio's folly and the folly of making him of consequence enough to be noticed.

To CALEB WHITEFOORD, Esq.
Adelphi.

IV

Thomas Coutts to Colonel Ross.

OXFORD.
16*th February*, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

I congratulate you on your safe return to England, although you find us in the midst of war and desolation, in want of *your* aid to defend our own coast; or to invade our enemy's! I doubt not you have had enough of the sword, and would rather retire to the ploughshare and the pruning-hook: God grant we may soon see peace restored, for it is cruel to have the happy progress of Arts and Science so unnecessarily stopped and made an end of.

To the public calamity I have had superadded in my family some afflicting and uncommon circumstances of distress which affect particularly my two unmarried daughters; and their health, as well as that of us all, has suffered severely.

We have lately been driven away from Foremark by the unexpected death of Sir Robert Burdett's only son, father to Mr Burdett (my son-in-law) and we have

come here to drop his youngest (and now only brother) at College; but we shall very soon be in London; and Mr Burdett having hired Lord Fitzwilliam's house the corner of Stratton Street, Piccadilly, I believe the ladies will be chiefly there for this year, as they have been accustomed to be together, and they stand in need of every aid that can be had to support them under calamities so unusual and severe, sufficient to unhinge stronger minds, who have been more accustomed to disappointments, and to meet the vicissitudes of human affairs.

I hope my partners have furnished you a statement of your money concerns, and that what I did in your absence as to the disposal of what came under my House's direction has met with your approbation.

Mrs Coutts and my Daughters join in presenting compliments and I am with great regard,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

THOMAS COUTTS.

CLEMENTINA WALKINSHAW

AMONG the medley of papers, arranged in no order and preserved on no obvious principle, which his widow or her executors spared from the flames, are a dozen short letters from Thomas Coutts to the titular Countess d'Alberstrof (or d'Albertrof, or d'Albestroff) better known as Clementina Walkinshaw, sometime mistress of the Young Pretender, and mother of his only child the Duchess of Albany. He may have known her in his youth when he was living under his father's roof, or met her on a visit to some of his relations. She was connected with his mother's family the Stuarts of Allanbank,[1] and she was kin to his friend and correspondent Colonel John Walkinshaw Crawfurd. He must have known all about her long before she passed into legend

[1] Her mother, born Catherine Paterson, called Lady Barrowfield, was sister of Mrs Charles Smith of Boulogne whose daughter, Margaret Agnes, married Tom Coutts' uncle, Sir John Stuart of Allanbank.

and out of legend into history; and when he was living in Paris in 1788-89 he sought her out, took his wife and daughters to visit her, and, thenceforth, regarded her as a friend and connection rather than a mere acquaintance. After she was driven from France and had taken refuge at Fribourg in Switzerland, she seems to have begged him to write in her behalf to Lord Elcho, Lord Robert Fitzgerald, and others who knew her story and might be willing to plead her cause with her daughter's heir and residuary legatee, the Cardinal Duke of York. A correspondence ensued and as her fortunes did not mend, for the last seven years of her life (1795-1802) he forwarded to her, from time to time, a donation of twenty-five guineas. A mysterious personage from the first, our knowledge of the facts of her life rests mainly on her own statements contained in a "*Mémoire*," which her daughter drew up and presented to Louis XV. in 1774 [1] and on a few casual references in letters and journals which of recent years have been printed in full, or quoted from unpublished MSS. In his preface to the "Will of Charlotte Stuart Duchess of Albany," which he edited for the Scottish Historical Society, (*Miscellany*, Vol. XLIV.) Mr A. Francis Steuart has brought together much that is new and interesting with regard to mother and daughter; and from this and other sources a modicum of verifiable fact may be ascertained.

Clémentine Marie Sophie Walkinshaw, so christened after her godmother the Princess Clémentine Sobieski, wife of the old Chevalier, was the youngest of ten daughters of John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield and Camlachie, and of his wife Catherine, daughter of Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn. On her father's side she was connected with the Crawfurds,

[1] *Œuvres Complètes* of the Duc de St Simon (1791, xii. 191-211). It has been pointed out that this document could not have been printed or edited by the Duc de St Simon, as it relates to events five or ten years after his death (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* "Art." Walkinshaw), but of its authenticity there can be no doubt.

the Maxwells, the Hamiltons, and other "illustrious families," and through her mother she could claim descent from a Marquis ("créé depuis duc") of Douglas. In one of her letters she says that her youth was spent in London, and that she was "bred to business" at Whitehall—trained, that is, to report to her father and uncle the gossip and rumours of the Court, or, haply, *vice versâ*. Beautiful and well-born, she is said to have numbered among her suitors Archibald Stuart, a younger brother of Sir John Stuart of Allanbank, afterwards Provost of Edinburgh in an evil day. and John Campbell, who lived to be fifth Duke of Argyll, From this shadowy "breeding" at Whitehall the scene changes to Bannockburn, where Charles Edward was the guest of her uncle Sir Hugh Paterson, in January 1746. At that time Clementina was about twenty years of age, perhaps older, and the Prince whose fate still hung in the balance, was in his twenty-sixth year, in the springtide of his youth, an ideal hero of romance. She says that she was presented with other young ladies, and that the Prince singled her out from the rest, exhibited towards her "une bienveillance toute particulière," and promised her a place at his court, partly because she was named after his mother, but also in recognition of the devotion of her family to his. There is a tradition that she nursed him through a fever, and that he was caught by her charms, which is a "deal likelier." There is always a beginning, and the end was that she fell in love with him, and bound herself to follow him "dans quelque partie du monde qu'il allait habiter." Many years later (June 3, 1766) when Clementina had appealed to the old Chevalier for support and protection, she informed his Secretary that before 1745 she had "lived in plenty," but that between that date and 1747 she was "undone," a phrase which seems to imply that in 1746 she either became, or was supposed to have become his mistress. In the *Mémoire* she goes out of her way to explain that in the first instance the sole promise which the Prince made

her was contingent on his coming to the throne, and that her oath to follow him for worse rather than better was "without consideration"; that the real compact was not one of royal favour on one side and service on the other, but of mutual constancy. The wording is ambiguous, but she desires to intimate that at least she was no mercenary adventuress. Of what became of her after the Battle of Culloden (April 1746) and the six years that followed, nothing is known save that she remained in Scotland with her family, who made interest to get her some endowments, and that on the recommendation of her Uncle Gram (or Graeme) she was nominated canoness of a noble Chapter in the Netherlands. But as to where the Chapter was, or whether she took up the position or drew any emolument therefrom are questions which the *Mémoire* passes over in silence. At length, in 1752, Charles Edward, who had been separated from his mistress Madame de Talmond, bethought him of the Bannockburn compact, or Clementina having been sped on her way to her Chapter, found herself within hail of her lover, and after some delay a meeting took place at Ghent. From that time forth she shared his wanderings in France and the Low Countries, bore the name which he assumed, and lived with him as his wife, "traitée comme son épouse," she avows, *sans façon*, and, apparently, as a plea for the King's indulgence.

There is talk of a son who died in infancy, but it is almost certain that the only child of the connection was a daughter, the Lady Charlotte Stuart, born at Liège, baptized in the parish church of Notre Dame aux Fonts, October 29, 1753, and registered as "fille de Sr Guillaume Johnson et de la ditte Dame Caroline Pit." [1]

[1] The author or authoress of a Note on "The Walkinshaw Fable" attached to *Tales of the Century* (by John and C. E. Sobieski Stuart), 1846, p. 83, affects to produce evidence to show that the baptism was not registered at the time, and that the entry on a waste leaf at the end of one of the registers was "unentitled to any faith, legal or otherwise," but this is a feeble plea as the Prince always acknowledged his daughter.

The relics of the Jacobite party mistrusted Clementina from the first, regarding her influence over the Prince as dangerous to themselves and disastrous to the cause. There was, as they had reason to know, a traitor in the camp, and not knowing who the traitor was, they suspected Clementina mainly, if not entirely, because her much older sister, Catharine, was attached to the household of the Princess Dowager of Wales. Envoys were despatched to the Continent to remonstrate with Charles, and almost to demand her dismissal and abandonment as the price of their future loyalty to the cause. But the Prince would have none of their counsel, not because he cared for his mistress, but on the plea that his private life was his own—he would gang his ain gait and "damn the consequences." According to Dr William King, who is responsible for this and other disparaging anecdotes, it was this half-chivalrous, half-sullen *non possumus* which marked the beginning of the end. His devoted followers, who had been bidden to mind their own business, were "astonished and confounded." "They determined no longer to serve a master who could not be persuaded to serve himself, and chose rather to endanger the lives of his best and most faithful friends than part with one harlot whom he neither loved nor esteemed." In *Redgauntlet* (1831, Vol. XXXVI., Cap. X., p. 205) Sir Walter Scott dramatizes King's "Anecdote," substituting an imaginary Sir Richard Glendale for the actual Mr McNamara who was sent to Paris. The story of the plot that failed, the concealment of Charles Edward at Fairladies and his disguise as Father Buonaventure are, of course, fictitious, or a blend of fact and fiction, but the description of the mysterious lady who "as if by sudden apparition glided into the apartment," is possibly a recollection of an eye-witness. "It was . . . a woman in the prime of life, and in the full-blown expansion of female beauty, tall, fair, and commanding in her aspect. Her locks, of paly gold, were taught to fall over a brow which, with the stately glance of the large, open blue eyes, might

have become Juno herself; her neck and bosom were admirably formed, and of a dazzling whiteness. She was rather inclined to *embonpoint*, but not more than became her age, of apparently thirty years. Her step was that of a Queen, but it was Queen Vashti, not Queen Esther—the bold and commanding, not the retiring beauty."

A few weeks after the birth of the child the Prince was on the point of discarding Clementina, who had "behaved unworthily"; but the quarrel was patched up and for six weary years of vagabondage and effacement she followed him whithersoever he went. It was said that they drank together and quarrelled in public, that "bonnie Prince Charlie" beat her fifty times in a day, and it was all too true that he "pushed her to the greatest extremity" and that she went in fear of her life. At length her patience gave way, and on the 22nd of July, 1760, she fled from Bouillon (a town on the French frontier a few miles north of Sedan) to Paris, taking the little Charlotte with her, who required regular instruction and a settled home. Her next step was to appeal for support and protection to the Prince's father—the titular King James III. — and with success. The services of her family, her own misfortunes and the attainment of his wishes that the Prince should be free to marry and continue the succession, induced the father to come to the rescue of his son's mistress. He stipulated that the mother and child should make their home in a convent, placed them under the protection of the Archbishop of Paris, and made himself responsible for an annuity of 10,000 livres (about £400) a year, and promised to provide for them after his death.

After the separation she called herself Comtesse d'Alberstroff, or Albestroff, and was recognised as such, both at Rome and in France. (Sir John Cox Hippisley, whose mother-in-law was her cousin german, states that she received the title, a countess of the Empire, from the Emperor Francis.) The old Chevalier died in 1766, with the result

that the Cardinal Duke, who had no motive for befriending Clementina, reduced the allowance to 5000 livres, and refused to contribute to the education of her daughter. He is not, perhaps, to be hardly judged for extracting from her in March 1767, a formal affidavit that "I, Clementina Walkinshaw, do voluntarily and on my oath declare before God my Creator that the report of my marriage [with Prince Charles Edward] or anything relative to the least tendency of the kind, is void and without foundation." According to the *Mémoire*, she wrote to the Cardinal on the same day to recant her confession and to complain of the manner in which she had been treated. Possibly she had satisfied the ecclesiastical authorities that, if not a Princess, she was an honest woman; or, as Mr Lang suggests, she may have flattered or consoled herself with the reflection that if the Netherlands had been Scotland, the law would have been on her side.

From 1760 to 1783 the Countess and her daughter lived together, first "at the Convent of the Visitation, then at that of the Holy Sacrament in Paris, and finally at the Abbey of Notre Dame at Meaux-en-Brie." In 1783 Charles Edward, now the titular King Charles III., obtained a separation from his wife, Louise of Stolberg, whom he had married eleven years before,and at once sent for his daughter to keep him company and to solace his old age. He legitimated and created her Duchess of Albany with the assent of Louis XVI., hoping, perhaps, against hope, that she or her descendants might succeed to "ses trois royaumes," which, as the *Mémoire* has it, he had been "obliged to quit."

Charles Edward died on January 31, 1788, and at the end of the next year, November 17, 1789, his daughter died also. She bequeathed by a will (in which there is not the slightest hint of her having been married) to the Cardinal Duke almost the whole of her fortune, subject to an annuity "alla sua Signora Madre" of 15,000 francs, and a further

CHARLOTTE STUART, DUCHESS OF ALBANY
From a painting by N. D. Hamilton, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland

sum of 50,000 francs to be paid at her death to such of her heirs as she might appoint.[1]

The French Revolution deprived the Cardinal of his benefices and other preferment, and in 1792 the annuity was reduced to 1000 scudi (£170); and, as convents in France had ceased to exist, she retired to Fribourg in Switzerland, and there, in November 1802, she died, attended by an old man-servant whom she made her residuary legatee. Among her very small bequests was a small gold box to Mr Coutts—"Comme un petit gâge de ses bontés pour moi."[2]

The way of transgressors is hard. No one has had a good word to say for Clementina Walkinshaw. Her own folk suspected and denounced her as a spy and a traitress. Her royal lover, to whom she had given "her heart, her peace, her all," dragged her through the mire and drove her into revolt. The Cardinal Duke, twice charged with her maintenance, grudged and kept back the pittance he was bound in honour to pay her, though in begging for an alms from the King of Spain, he alleged that pittance as a contributory cause of his poverty. Even the kindly Sir Walter, following Dr King, whom he mistrusted, has depicted her as a proud wanton—"her tongue with a tang." "Her only English friend," says James Dennistoun, "seems to have been Mr Coutts the banker." It is a point in her favour. If for a while she sank to the level of her paramour and, as King says, "acquired the odious habit of drinking," for the greater part of her long life she lived decorously and in retirement, protected and recognised by persons of rank and position. The *Mémoire* which her daughter presented to Louis XV. in 1774, is certainly her

[1] Either in discharge of this future claim or as arrears of annuity, a sum of 50,000 livres was paid to the Countess d'Albestroff on or about July 26, 1791. *Historical Commission*, Report X., App. VI. p. 239.

[2] Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange by James Dennistoun, Vol. II., Appendix VI. p. 321.

compilation if not her composition, and, alike in what it says and leaves unsaid, it is the plea and apology of a lady. Tom Coutts was a good judge of character, and he must have formed a better opinion of his fellow-countrywoman than some who came and went and mocked in earlier days. His kindlier thought should help to sweeten her memory.

Attached to the letters was a single slip of paper in another hand. It runs thus :—

" *Note.* Money generously sent by Thomas Coutts, Esq. to my poor Grandmother the Countess of Albertroff." Then follows a list of donations of 25 guineas, the first on August 10, 1795, the last November 16, 1802, amounting in all to £262 10s., and (below the figures) " which amount my strongest wish is to repay. I have, however, every reason to believe that more money has been paid to my grandmother, and I hope, one day to come to be able to know and settle the whole." It is signed R. Could this have been the " General Charles Edward Stuart, Count Roehenstart, who it is said, claimed to be Prince Charlie's grandson, and who died at Dunkeld, on the 28th October 1854, aged 73 years, and is buried in Dunkeld Cathedral ? This much, at least, the document proves, that in 1803 someone who had access to Clementina's papers and letters, and who signed with the initial " R. "[1] claimed to be either the son (or daughter) of the Duchess of Albany, or at any rate a descendant of " the Countess of Albestroff."

[1] I am indebted to Mr A. Francis Steuart for the suggestion that " R " might stand for Roehenstart, and for information with regard to the monumental inscription in Dunkeld Cathedral.

V

Thomas Coutts to La Comtesse d'Albestroff.

STRAND, LONDON.
1*st April*, 1794.

I received your kind letter, my dear Madam, dated the 14 of February. I was very happy to hear of your health though your letter was filled with circumstances very cruel and distressing—the result of the unhappy affairs of France which, hitherto, have only produced misery to the people belonging to or connected with that charming country. Where or how they are to end is beyond the power of reason, or even conjecture to decide.

Monsignor Erskine,[1] lately appointed Auditor of His Holiness the Pope, has been some time in England. He has a kind of public commission here and is a particular friend of mine. I have spoken to him and he has written to Rome. He thinks Mr Jenkins can be of no use, but that the people he has written to may serve you in regard to the Cardinal. Mr Erskine will be going back to Rome, I cannot say how soon, but whenever he

[1] Monseigneur Charles (afterwards Cardinal Erskine) was a member of the great Scottish family, and consequently a distant kinsman of Thomas Coutts. He was employed as an informal nuncio between the Court of St James' and the Vatican and was instrumental in connection with Sir John Cox Hippisley in obtaining concessions for the Roman Catholic Episcopate in Ireland and the Colonies on condition that the Superiors of the National Colleges in Rome should take the oath of allegiance to the British Government. In a letter dated July 30, 1798, Coutts pleads his cause with Pitt on the strength of his services to the Catholics in Ireland. See *The Last of the Royal Stuarts*, by H. Vaughan, pp. 209, 210. See, too, for the Cardinal's circular letter to the French Bishops on the Convention between the French Government and Pope Pius VII., Sept. 10, 1801, *Annual Register*, 1801, vol. xliii. pp. 307, 311. One of the clauses of the Convention prescribed the recitation "at the end of divine service in all the Catholic Churches of France," of the following petitions:

Domine, salvam fac rempublicam, Domine, salvos fac consules. Alas! poor Bishops!

goes there I am sure he will do his best to do you every kindness in his power.

Mrs Coutts and my three daughters are very well. I wrote you word that the youngest was married to Mr Burdett, grandson of Sir Robert Burdett an old respectable family in Derbyshire, and heir of very considerable fortune. Mrs Burdett is near laying in, and I hope in this month or the next will be happily delivered.

We shall always be happy to hear from you and to participate in what may affect your comfort and prosperity, and hope better times may bring us together again, but, indeed, the prospect has been and continues to be more gloomy than could be wished.

I am, my dear Madam,
Your ever faithful and obedient servant,
T. COUTTS.

My health and Mrs Coutts' is so-so, and we are both on the decline, but we cannot always be young and must submit.

VI.

Thomas Coutts to the Countess of Chatham.

STRAND, 1*st August*, 1794

MADAM,

. . . I pray God Mr Pitt may be the Minister under heaven to deliver this happy Island from the pernicious principles so unfortunately prevailing in many parts of Europe, which are more dangerous than a combination of armed nations. I think, however, if a proper and uniform attention to our Naval Force is given, we shall be always able to repel invaders and keep our respect among the Nations; and it is by neglecting this, or not attending *in time* to our natural strength alone, that Britain can ever be subdued. The glory of Lord Howe's victory should stimulate this attention, as it points out that *there* is the elememt in which we are superior to all rivals. . . .

I have been in London ever since February without being a day absent from business. Mrs Burdett, my youngest daughter, lay in of a daughter about six weeks

ago and has recovered but slowly. She is advised to take the sea air for some weeks previous to her going to Derbyshire, and as her mother and sisters and all of us are happy to be together, I have hired the late Lord Holland's house at King's Gate in the Isle of Thanet, where we propose going on Monday. . . .

THOMAS COUTTS.

VII.

Thomas Coutts to the Countess of Chatham.

Michaelmas Day, 1794.
KING'S GATE HOUSE,
ISLE OF THANET, KENT.

MADAM,

I was honoured in course with your Ladyship's most obliging letter of August the 30th, and now again with another dated the 25th instant.

The very friendly manner in which you are so good to accept any well meant endeavours of mine to accommodate or to render your Ladyship any service in my power, is always very pleasing. . . . It is comfortable to me to hear of the good health and spirits of Mr Pitt and Lord Chatham, not only personally on their own account, but in a public view, hoping it indicates their opinion upon our prospects in regard to the War being more favourable than I find many people's are at this moment. The events we have read of in the History of this country and those we have witnessed in our own time, should teach us, however, never to despair, things having very frequently turned out more prosperously than the most sanguine temper could have expected and beyond all reasonable calculation; and it may be the case again, though certainly on the Continent at present the aspect is not by any means very flattering.

Our wooden walls must be our last resort, and I shall always hope by a proper attention to them, and with leaders, on shore as well as afloat, in whom the people confide, that unanimity will be preserved at home, and that we may always support our natural consequence and

superiority among the nations. The weather here till the last week has been very fine, but it is come in now so very cold and stormy that we shall I think very soon quit this exposed situation.

I heard Mr Pitt was at Walmer, and I was in hopes he might perhaps have come over for a day to view Ramsgate Harbour, and indeed the place I inhabit is also worth a view; it was made by the late Lord Holland in the style of an Italian villa and is really very uncommon and beautiful; it has fallen into unworthy hands and lost much of its original splendour, but I should have been very happy to have showed it to Mr Pitt. . . .

THOMAS COUTTS.

VIII.

Thomas Coutts to the Countess of Chatham.

KING'S GATE HOUSE,
28th October, 1794.

MADAM,

. . . I acknowledge that I am by no means sufficiently informed, and I should be very sorry to be thought too presuming, or to give with any degree of confidence my poor opinion in regard to a public point of such importance as peace or war; it is a matter, however, of infinite consequence to every well meaning man in the kingdom, and there cannot be among them any but one opinion that in general peace is to be preferred, and war resorted to only to obtain better security for peace being durably maintained. This must particularly be desirable for a commercial nation, and in this view it becomes so necessary to keep up a superior navy, for without that natural strength of this country being in force, we cannot long be expected to maintain our independence and national consequence; whereas on the other hand, with an unremitting attention to this great object, with wise rulers and not grasping at distant conquests, our excellent constitution may prove immortal.

Your Ladyship's family have been our country's

pride and honour in my time, and no man wishes them better than I do.

It would seem the French have become more moderate, and it is to be hoped they may incline to draw aside from their horrid career of blood, and if, as is reported, the Emperor is tired of war, a congress may be assembled where the voice of reason may be heard.

I beg pardon for troubling your Ladyship with my ideas, which I am sensible can be of little avail one way or the other, for I can boast of nothing but good intentions.

. . . Mrs Burdett has fancied the bathing has agreed with her since the cold weather, which has detained us here. On Sunday we had a visit of the Duke of Clarence and Prince Ernest—the latter being on his way to Holland; but the ship he was to have embarked in he found ordered with others to sea in search of some French ships there had been intelligence of quitting their ports.

I am, Madam [etc. etc.],

THOMAS COUTTS.

IX

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

November 14th, 1794.

Your reasoning on politics is good, and pleases me by its clearness, but I doubt the established truth of some of your supposed facts. The junction of The Austrian Troops it would seem has been found impracticable. Nor do I find the Duke of Brunswick as yet on the scene of action, or if he were, do I expect he would do much more than his predecessors. Maestricht taken—and Nimeguen probably also by this time in the hands of the French, leaves Holland by no means secure even for this winter.

I cannot rejoice at the hard fate of the Poles, nor at any success of these barbarians, the Russians, than whom the Prussians are but little better. Nor do I think England will reap any benefit from their fall: Neither can I think the French have shown any want of wisdom in the conduct of the war. As to their internal state, we know

but little, but there is reason to fear they are, at least, as able to bear out the expence of another campaign as England. Victory makes nations proud and ha[ugh]ty, and though I agree with you, that now in the zenith of success, they might act nobly and *prudently* in offering peace to the world, yet so much moderation is hardly to be expected, especially when some of the Convention may think external peace might be followed soon by internal commotion. As to the three numerous armies of Royalists on foot in the Western Provinces, unless it consists with your knowledge I confess I doubt much of their existence ; and I really fear if we do not make peace now, it will in a very little time force itself, by means of worse ferments than we experienced in 1782, and I am sure any man who remembers *them*, and had access to see them, will not wish to have them renewed. Plots, divisions, and distrust must always be in a Government so convulsed and totally unsettled as that of France, and it is not likely that any of us will live to see it modelled into any shape of regularity. And, indeed, before it comes to be so, we shall I hope have recovered from the mischiefs of this unhappy war, and have learnt sense enough (by experience) to keep out of such scrapes—and to attend to the increase of our Navy, and diminution of our Debt—two objects that can only be done effectually in times of peace. Instead of writing Politics as I have done, I sat down to tell you the Prestons after threatening us with a visit during the good weather and gaiety of this place, now talk of coming when we have the Isle of Thanet all to ourselves. The weather is so uncertain and the season so bad that I fear you have neither pleasure or health to gain by accompanying them—otherwise I would desire you to enquire if there is any vacant seat in their voitures—by Sea or Land for I know not how they are to travel.

The good wishes of All here hover round you.

I am, ever very affectionately yours.,

T. Coutts.

The news this morning proves my fears for Nimeguen to have been too well founded. What is to be taken next ? Utrecht, I suppose, and Amsterdam.

CHAPTER XVIII

DEBT AND INTEREST

"At this time we sweat, and bleed."—*King Lear*, v. 3.

AFTER the death of Colonel Crawfurd and the break with Lord Stair, Coutts does not appear to have started a fresh correspondence on public affairs or the fluctuations of the money market. With the exception of Lady Chatham there was no one left to whom he could unpack his heart, or such letters as he may have written have not been discovered or disclosed. Once and away he breaks silence and bewails his perplexities as a banker, or, like the ancient steward in Hogarth's "Marriage à la Mode," uplifts a despairing hand over the reckless finance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was a day of dearth, and though, for a time, the general need increased his store, he was under no delusion as to the possibility of a disastrous issue in which his own fortunes would be involved. There had been three bad harvests. In one year (1793) there were nearly two thousand bankruptcies, including twenty-six county banks. In order to urge a doubtful war with the French nation, partly in defence of monarchy at home and abroad, partly with the hope of national aggrandisement, loan after loan was proposed and issued at ever increasing rates of interest; and though the Minister had a packed majority behind him in Parliament, the "moneyed interest" staggered and was at its wits' end. The Prince of Wales' debts, in which Coutts was concerned both as creditor and informal 'receiver,' added to the confusion and perplexity. They were

outrageous and indefensible, but the Prince had thrown in his lot with the Opposition, and the Opposition more or less stood in with their creditless and discredited supporter. The debts must have had a beginning, but they had no end. So far back as August 1784, the Prince admitted to a sum of £269,000, but the King was angered at the disclosure and the debts were allowed to accumulate. In 1787, after Fox had categorically denied that the Prince was privately married to Mrs Fitzherbert, Parliament voted £161,000 towards the payment of back debts, and £25,000 to the completion of Carlton House; but in April, 1795, when the Prince had consented to what was in reality a bigamous union with the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, Pitt stated in Parliament that the Prince owed a sum of £630,000.[1] Something had already been done to arrange a 'sort' of liquidation of these liabilities by the issue of "Prince of Wales Debentures" to the amount of £432,000, and when Parliament voted an additional income to the Prince on his marriage of £60,000 a year, £25,000[2] to be set aside for the payment of debts and interest, together with the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall (about £13,000 a year) these "debentures" considerably appreciated. Coutts must have profited by his 'receivership,' for, in writing to Pitt (April 14, 1795) he takes for granted that if trustees were appointed the business should still be "transacted at his house." Two years later he complains that the money market is upset by speculative buying and selling of these "debentures." Possibly he made the most of some vexatious depreciation of stocks in which he was interested in order to make that Minister understand that he

[1] The amount of Principal and Interest which has already been paid by the Commissioners appointed to investigate the Debts of His Royal Highness Prince of Wales to the 10th of October 1802 inclusive, is £546,821 19s. 11d. There remains a sum of £252,828 19s. 3d which will be discharged on or before the 10th of October 1806. *B. M. MS.* 33,133 fo. 30.

[2] In the year 1802, "the sum applied under the Act of 1796 was £75,000 a year." *B. M. MS.* 33. 133, fo. 40.

was worth both consulting and considering with regard to national finance. It is only fair to record the fact that whatever money he may have himself advanced[1] to the Prince of Wales before 1795 was, to quote a private memorandum, " all paid."

Experts and others have argued for and against the method and terms of the various loans which were issued by Pitt between 1793 and 1802. The net result was that he obtained a sum of £223,000,000 in exchange for a national I.O.U. for £336,000,000. We know what Coutts thought of a loan which was being arranged for in September 1796, for he compares the Minister's offer with the recklessness of " the Foleys and other mad extravagant heirs of fortune." He spoke with authority and from the standpoint of a life-long experience, but his unqualified condemnation of Pitt's proposals has not been endorsed by the experts of a ' milder day.'[2] Granted the necessity of the war, Pitt was compelled to raise his millions somehow, anyhow, and to trust to luck or to posterity to foot the bill. Coutts disliked the war and judged the loan on its own merits or demerits as a financial transaction. A few months later (Dec. 7) came the budget and the announcement of a deficit of eighteen

[1] In a note to Dr Holland Rose's *William Pitt and the National Revival* (1911, p. 403), reference is made to a *Memorandum* by an anonymous compiler, included in the Pitt MSS., which states that in April 1794, the Prince of Wales owed " Mr Coutts the banker " £60,000.

[2] T. Coutts to C. Whitefoord, Sept. 21, 1796. " Mr Pitt raises £85 by a Navy Bill for £100 which, by Act of Parliament, he must pay with £5 p. c. for interest in fifteen months, and which he can only do by giving . . . about £131 Five p. c. Stock " — or, in plainer English, in return for £85 cash, a bill for £100 "payable fifteen months after date " plus £6.5—a bill which would have to be renewed by Government Stock for £131 bearing interest 5 per cent. It does not appear that any loan was issued as early as September, but in November 1796, there was a large funding of Navy and Exchequer Bills. There were three options for every £100 of Bills funded viz.: £176 stock at 3 per cent.; £138 at 4 per cent.; £118 at 5 per cent. The loan amounted to £13,029,000, and the stock as chosen to £21,613,000. See *On the Loans raised by Mr Pitt*, etc., by W. Newmarsh, 1855, p. 15.

millions. In this emergency Pitt seems to have descended from the heights and invited Coutts to give him the benefit of his advice. It will be remembered that in early days, when he first took office, Pitt broke through the custom of selecting contractors for Government Loans, and with a view to economy threw them open to the highest bidders. Time had gone on, and under the strain of financial exigencies he had reverted to the old system and offered his loans to a chosen few. He now proposed to ignore bankers great and small and to appeal to the public at large to invest their money in Government Stock as a voluntary offering, and as it were, *pro aris et focis*. Coutts seems to have discouraged the scheme on the grounds that the public would not lend money to the Government at a loss to themselves; that, in short, they would have to be bribed by usurious interest. As it turned out, he was mistaken, for the "Loyalty Loan," as it was called, was subscribed for in fifteen hours, and numerous applicants were sent empty away. Moreover, when it came to the point, Coutts and other great bankers, following the lead of the Directors of the Bank of England, each subscribed £50,000 on their own account. The country had responded or the call and, willy-nilly, the bankers could not be less patriotic than their clients. Where did all the money come from? The question is no doubt beneath the dignity of history to answer, but it would be interesting to know for certain. There had for some time past been a reluctance to invest savings, and there must have been a certain amount of cash and bullion lying idle concealed in "stockings" or more august receptacles, but the bulk of those patriotic oblations must have been advanced by bankers, on "securities" sound enough in ordinary times, but standing or falling with the security of the Commonwealth. We know that Coutts and Co. subscribed £10,000 in Pitt's name, and undertook "to make the payment."

Loyalty inspired the moneyed interest to unloose its

purse-strings "for a time," and to accept interest at £5, 12s. 6d. per cent; but by the April of the following year (1797) "Loyalty" stock was at a heavy discount, and Pitt was forced to borrow at the rate of £6, 7s. per cent., the highest rate of interest offered for a Government Loan since the American War.

If these ciphers are alien from the genius of biography, it must serve as an excuse that the hero of the story was a banker, and that his ciphering was of public as well as private import. And even "jesting" Byron bears witness :—

> "Every loan
> Is not merely a speculative hit,
> But seats a Nation, or upsets a Throne."

CORRESPONDENCE

April 2nd, 1795, to December 7, 1796.

I

Thomas Coutts to the Duchess of Devonshire.

STRATTON STREET, *2nd April*, 1795.

MADAM,

I am mortified and extremely sorry that anything should be the matter with your eyes, but I hope, the complaint will soon be removed, and that Lady Bessborough [1] will advance in health with the approaching fine season. The east wind, however, still prevails and is an enemy to everything that is genial.

Poor Mrs Burdett continues so weak and so emaciated, that it can hardly go further. They talk of trying to carry her to Bath for the Pump, and as her colour, appetite, and sleep still keep good I would fain flatter

[1] Her younger sister, Henrietta Frances, who married (1780) Frederick, third Earl of Bessborough. She was almost as beautiful, and even more audacious and unconventional than her sister the Duchess. Her daughter, Lady Caroline Lamb, was of the same following, but lacked the "little grain of conscience" of her mother and her aunt.

myself with hopes from her youth. Mrs Coutts has never been out of the house yet and is very much indisposed, and within these two days Fanny has had a fever and sore throat and is confined to her bed. All these distresses make me almost forget my own infirmities, which are not few.

As to poor Stevens,[1] indeed I am not sanguine. I have asked twice and still continue to persevere in my enquiries for vacancies, though both times my application though early has proved ineffectual; which makes me fear the claim of old acquaintance has not force enough, even with the addition of what, were I in the Chancellor's place, would be more powerful than any influence. You are very good, however, in saying you would get two Cabinet applications. These (if in earnest) are irresistible. I am truly much interested to succeed, but I am worn out with disappointments and teased so much every day with all ranks and descriptions in want of money that I wish myself at Rome and often think of absconding to shun them. You can hardly conceive how I am worried in this way from morning to night. You would be surprised at the sums required from me as well as at the names of some of the requirers.

Adieu,

Dear Madam, may health and happiness attend you!

T. COUTTS.

II

Thomas Coutts to the Right Honourable William Pitt.

STRATTON STREET,
14*th April*, 1795.

SIR,

As in case of your arranging any plan of liquidating the debts of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, you may probably determine to have it done by trustees, I flatter

[1] The Reverend William Bagshaw Stevens, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, was headmaster of Repton School and chaplain to Sir F. Burdett. He wrote verses and contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

myself you will not think it improper that I should be one of them, or at least that the business should be transacted at my house, where all the bonds, etc., having been registered, and the interest regularly paid for some time past, it will be more readily understood as well as more easily conducted; and, I should think, with more satisfaction to the Prince than if put into any other hands.

I am, Sir, with sincere respect,
Your most obedient and faithful
humble servant,
THOMAS COUTTS.

III

Thomas Coutts to the Right Honourable William Pitt.

STRAND,
7th July, 1795.

SIR,

As I am at last about leaving town this morning for Cheltenham, I take the liberty of reminding you that you was (*sic*) so good to express to the Chancellor your wish that he might take an early opportunity of gratifying me by bestowing a living on my friend the Rev. William Bagshaw Stevens. I also request your being so good to propose to the Commissioners for the Prince's affairs to appoint my House to be the Banker, and to order powers to be made at the Exchequer for their receiving the £6500 per annum, etc.

I am, Sir, etc.,
THOMAS COUTTS.

IV

Caleb Whitefoord to Thomas Coutts.

[*August*, 1795.]

Be it known unto you, my dear Friends, Mr and Mrs Coutts, that I am now *on the wing* for Chelt'nam. I wish that Mrs Aileway would take me under *her* wing!

Ah, si Madame Aileway voudrait me prendre sous son, aile, je serais content comme un Prince! May I request the favour of you, my dear Tom, to speak to her, and if she is not quite full of Quality, perhaps she may take me in.

V.

Thomas Coutts to William Wickham.[1]

STRAND, LONDON,
4th August, 1795.

SIR,

Madame La Comtesse D'Albestroff, who I have taken the liberty of recommending to you by another letter, may perhaps deliver you this.

I shall only add that if she does, you will do me the greatest kindness possible by showing her any attention in your power.

She is born of a very respectable family in Scotland, and I am confident will always be found in every respect deserving of your protection.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servt.,

THOMAS COUTTS.

VI

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

ST AIX, *August*, 1795.

We are all very sorry indeed we are so unfortunate leaving Cheltenham the day before you come to it. You cannot doubt that we should have been happy to have seen you here in our retreat, and by not mixing in the company at the Wells we should have relished your visits the more.

[1] He had been employed in secret diplomatic service by Lord Grenville, and was, at the time, envoy to Swiss Canton. He was Chief Secretary for Ireland 1802–1804. He died in 1840.

Your letter is come, just as our Chaises are at the door. We go by Mrs Aileways and shall leave this for you there. I am in hopes she may be able to receive you, as she said yesterday *Admiral Somebody*, a single man, had bespoke an apartment, but she believed would not come.

We lived in a pleasant house out of town next the Annabaptist Chaple (*sic*). Pray write us where you settle, and how all goes on at the Wells. It will be some pleasure to hear of what we leave behind, and letters from you are always acceptable wherever we may be.

God bless you,
In haste,
Ever yours,
T. COUTTS.

All the ladies join in kind good wishes. We shall now be in London all the time you will be out of it. How unlucky for us! We are going to Stanway to Lord Elcho's and then to London.

VII

Thomas Coutts to the Comtesse d'Albestroff,

SANDON,[1] GLOUCESTERSHIRE,
10*th August*, 1795.

I have been passing some very agreeable weeks in a country retirement near Cheltenham with my family, and have received the pleasure of your kind letter dated the 17th of last month. It made Mrs Coutts and my daughters very happy to hear you was in good health; though we were much mortified with the behaviour of the Prince Cardinal, whose high birth and misfortunes should make him feel more for others. Mrs Coutts has been suffering in health for some time, though I hope she has recovered a little since we came here. She joins with me in every kind wish for your health and in requesting you will write us word where you fix. The dearness

[1] Sandon may have been the name of "the country retirement near Cheltenham." Sandon Hall, the seat of the Ryders, is in Staffordshire.

of everything is a general complaint and is very much felt in England. Lord Bute is gone Ambassador to Madrid, but Spain has made peace with the Convention and I fear will soon go to War with England. Lord and Lady Elcho are living in retirement in Hampshire. I write in some haste at present. The person who will deliver you this will pay you Twenty-Five Guineas. I shall be happy if they prove of any use to you, and that you will not refuse from me so small a mark of my regard. I have hurt my hand and can hardly write, but I shall always remain, My Dear Madam,

Your very affectionate friend,

T. COUTTS.

VIII

Thomas Coutts to La Comtesse d'Albestroff.

BATH, *9th November*, 1795.

MY DEAR MADAM,

The Mr Poyntz you wrote me about married Miss Brown, sister and heiress of the late unfortunate Viscount Montague of Cowdray. My House wrote to him that your friend Mr Deprudoman at Fribourg enquired about him, and the answer he sent in return is on the other side of this. I write in small compass to avoid needless expence of postage. The war has made every expence enormous.

Perhaps your plan of removing from Fribourg may occasion some expence, and I beg if you have occasion for Twenty-Five Guineas more you will draw it from Mr Zeerleder at Berne, to whom I send this with orders to supply it when required.

Your treatment and hard usage affects me, Mrs Coutts and my daughters very much. When the war ends and Monsignor Erskine returns to Rome, as he will I believe be a Cardinal, I hope to interest him in your cause.

Miss Coutts is to be married soon to the Earl of Guilford, and permits me to acquaint you of it. I hope she will be happy, but it is hard for Mrs Coutts and me to part with

her. Mr Burdett is gone to see his Grandfather Sir Robert Burdett in Derbyshire, who is aged near eighty, and we remain here at Bath till his return. Mrs Burdett is better in health and I hope will get quite well. Mrs Coutts is not so well as we wish, but I flatter myself is also better than she was last year. I shall always be happy to hear from you and to show you the sincere regard with which I am ever your most faithful and most obedient servant,

T. COUTTS.

Lord Bute is well and Ambassador at Madrid. Do you think he could do you any good ?

IX

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

Monday, February 8th, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letters are always comfortable and acceptable to us all, and not to speak of the instruction they contain, are most entertaining.

Most certainly I wish your residence to be near us, and on that account I am a little undecided where I would wish to fix you; for though I have bought the great house in Stratton Street, I often feel a sort of hankering after old haunts, and to return to the Strand. There is no saying how things may be, but I know it is better, as well as easier for me, to please other people than myself. Your analysis of old proverbs is solid and clear, and the advice to which the one quoted applies has been given me by some of the best friends I have, tho' without all the pleasing accompaniments of your kind opinion. There is nobody to whose sentiments I would pay more attention—and on this occasion, as I flatter myself will generally be the case, they coincide exactly with my own.

The female party here seem to wish the marriage to wait till we can all get to London—but Ld. G. on account of the uncertainty of *how long this may be*—and because "*Delays are dangerous*," I believe thinks Bath as favourable

to matrimony as any other place. I have no wish but to please, and accommodate, and to contribute to the permanent happiness of their union. I should be a fool to have any other, seeing that the comfort of my poor remainder of life depends upon it—and a good solid dependence it is, and knowing and esteeming Lord Guilford as you do I am sure you will think so. Fanny is getting every day well, and if she would find herself a husband who would be willing and able to conduct the shop, I think there is nothing more for me to do but to amuse myself and Mrs Coutts and " enjoy (*in your society*) the present Hour, nor fear the last."

I am sorry to see your opinion as to the war. It is ruinous in the extreme—and not the interest of the rulers of our adversary to make peace. It would seem, then, it must continue like a duel in a saw-pit till one or other is conquered. Such a war England never was engaged in before. Heaven send us a happy delivery.

Adieu, my Dear Sir,

Believe me ever affectionately yours,

T. COUTTS.

Lord Guilford this moment has requested I will thank you both for your kind *opinion*—and advice.

X

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

SPEEN, NEWBURY, *28th February* 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

You will be glad to hear of Miss Coutts's marriage, and I, therefore, write to give you the earliest information that it took place this morning. They are gone to Bushey Park[1] and from thence proposed proceeding to Waldershare in Kent.

[1] Lord Guilford's mother (the widow of Lord North, who died Earl of Guilford) was Ranger of Bushey Park. Waldershare, near Lydden, in Kent, was and is the seat of the Earls of Guilford. It formed the dowry of Katharine, daughter of Sir Robert Furness, the third wife of the first Earl.

Richard Grosse pinxit. Emery Walker Ph. sc.

George Augustus, Third Earl of Guilford, Ninth Baron North

From a painting in the possession of the Lord North

Be so kind to send this when you have read it to Brown and desire he will consider it as directed to him as well as you.

Adieu, in haste, Ever Yours.,
T. COUTTS.

I am just about retracting my solitary way to Bath.

GEORGE AUGUSTUS, EARL OF GUILFORD

IN 1792, when they were hardly out of their teens, Tom Coutts began to despair of his daughters' prospects. Beautiful, and by no means tocherless, though the eldest had closed her twenty-first year, no one was coming to woo, and unless their father belies them, the young ladies were inclined to resent the oversight. The very next year (August 3, 1793) the youngest, who was just nineteen, was married to Mr Francis Burdett, the grandson of a Derbyshire Baronet, the eldest was betrothed to Visount Montague, and, so it would seem, Fanny, the fairest of the three, to Charles Sedley Burdett, a younger brother of her sister's husband. Then came the tragedy of Schaffhausen by which, as their father writes, his " two unmarried daughters " were both affected. Two years later, in August 1795, when the family were in summer quarters at Cheltenham, another suitor appeared on the scene, a widower on the sunny side of forty, the father of one little girl. The first intimation comes from a letter of Horace Walpole to Miss Berry, dated August 15, 1795: " Lord Guilford's match is avowed and they accept joy at Bushey." (The Dowager Lady Guilford, the widow of the Prime Minister, was Ranger of Bushey Park), Possibly the match was talked about and commented on *before* it was avowed, for nothing is said about the engagement till the following November, when Bath had succeeded to Cheltenham, and Lord Guilford was still

in attendance. Even then there was a delay on account of Fanny's health; and it was not till February 28, 1796, that the marriage took place—not at Bath, as Lord Guilford had hoped and intended, but at Speen in Berkshire.

In announcing his daughter's marriage Thomas Coutts confines himself to the bare facts, but from what he does not say and from subsequent events, it may be inferred that he approved of his son-in-law and that his ambition was satisfied.

History has scarcely done justice to the memory of George Augustus, third Earl of Guilford. The eldest son of the second Earl, known to fame as Lord North, he was born September 11, 1757, was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, with which his family was closely associated,[1] sat for four boroughs in succession in the House of Commons, and succeeded to the Barony of North and the Earldom of Guilford on his father's death, August 5, 1792. During his grandfather's lifetime, and against his grandfather's wish, he married (September 24, 1789) Maria Frances Mary Hobart, granddaughter of the second Earl of Buckinghamshire. Miss Hobart was not an heiress and the Earl was highly indignant that his grandson should marry for love and not, as he had done, for money or land. But on this occasion love won the day. Four children were born of this marriage, three sons, who died in infancy, and a daughter, the Lady Maria North, who married, in 1818, the second Marquis of Bute. In politics he began as an anti-reformer, but afterwards became and continued a staunch and prominent member of the Opposition. When his father's longsuffering and only too faithful compliance with the King's policy had broken down and come to an end, George North was

[1] Lord Guilford's ancestor, Francis, first Baron Guilford, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, married (March 5, 1671-2) Frances, daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas Pope of Wroxton, third Earl of Downe, a collateral descendant of Sir Thomas Pope of Dedington, the Founder of Trinity College, Oxford. Wroxton Abbey is still held under a lease granted by the President and Fellows of the College.

an active promoter of the coalition ministry, and it was at his house in Burlington Street that on February 14, 1783, Fox and Lord North met and made friends. He was appointed Under-Secretary in the ministry of April 1783, and as a reward for his services was nominated Commissioner or Director of the East India Company, in the fatal "India" Bill which wrecked the Coalition and some of its supporters for ever.

We catch a glimpse of him just before the *débâcle*, when Fox, no longer a Minister, was still a power in the House of Commons—a glimpse from a quarter which might not unfairly be described as the "back stairs." "I am assured," writes C. Jenkinson to J. Rigby, February 1784, "that Mr Fox was defeated to-day in Westminster Hall by 5 to 1. Others make the parties more even. It is clear, however, that Mr Fox was forced to leave the hall, and to leave the other party in possession of it, and that he afterwards harangued the mob from one of the windows of the King's Tavern. He was then drawn in his chariot by a low mob of about 100 to Devonshire House; but what will astonish you is that Colonel Stanhope, Mr Hanger—were on the coachbox, and that Mr George North, Mr Adam, and a third person stood as footmen behind. How disgraceful!"[1]

The first speech which he made in the House of Commons, April 5, 1780, was a personal explanation. His father, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, had appointed him Colonel of the Cinque Regiment (he was known in those days as Colonel North), and he was anxious to defend himself from the charge of being a mercenary supporter of the Government. "He received no pay," he said, "and was not entitled to any further rank"—the post was purely honorary. He does not seem to have made his mark in the Commons, but afterwards, in the House of Lords, he was for some years a conspicuous member of the faithful few who denounced and opposed, as best they could, the

[1] Printed in *Historical Commissions*, Report, etc

continuance of the first war with the French nation. Lord Guilford had the courage of his opinions. In a speech on the Address (January 1794) he exposes the ministerial "change of argument for the war from defence of the country to restoration of the Monarchy in France." "The favourers of the ministry, it was said, were loud in asserting that to oppose the progress of French principles it was necessary to stem the torrent of their successes in the field. But arms were not arguments, and to these alone principles which were erroneous would be compelled to yield." "Force is no remedy," it will be remembered was the plea of one who fought for freedom in our own day, and with greater success. It is evident that the son remembered how his father had served the King and how the King had turned from and against his father, "charging him with treachery and ingratitude of the blackest nature." In a debate on the landing of the Hessian troops in the Isle of Wight (1794), a breach of national etiquette not, perhaps, of any vital importance, he treads on hot ashes: "Messages from the Crown were no justification of ministerial measures. The words of Lord Coke on a similar occasion might pertinently be quoted on that point: 'the King's message may be gracious, but what says the law of the land?'" Again, in 1795, in a debate on the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, "it was observed by the Earl of Guilford that without encroaching on the royal prerogative to declare war or to conclude peace, the propriety of either the one or the other might be discussed in Parliament; so might the propriety of any other act of the Crown. On this principle the removal of Lord Fitzwilliam merited inquiry, that the people of Ireland might know their friends in this country from their enemies." But the King's prerogative prevailed, and the evil deed, with all its fatal and enduring consequences, stands to the eternal discredit both of King and country.

In a debate which arose out of another question which more nearly affected the interests of his father-in-law, the

Order in Council to the Bank of England to suspend cash payments (February 27, 1797), Lord Guilford and three other peers voted for the Duke of Norfolk's motion that the "King be begged to export no more specie to Germany and elsewhere." It was alleged by Ministers that the necessity for intervention was owing to the run on county banks caused by fear of invasion; but it was well known that the deficiency of bullion was also caused by the withdrawal of vast sums borrowed by Pitt for granting subsidies to the King of Prussia and other foreign princes—an indirect mode of fighting the French which the Opposition contemned and reprobated. Later in the same session, members of the Opposition withdrew from the House of Lords altogether, a somewhat ineffective protest of which Guilford disapproved, but joined in making. On one occasion only after 1797 did he break silence, to speak and vote against Lord Auckland's Bill forbidding the remarriage of persons divorced for adultery (April 2, 1800). A single sentence may be quoted: "I have read," he said, "in a certain book of a Magdalen, an adulteress, receiving favour and pardon on due repentance; I do not admire those doctrines that cut off the possibility of all return to virtue and society." Perhaps it was because he was the son of his father, or perhaps to get rid of him, that a month before his father died, in July 1792, Pitt offered to make him Governor-General of India. The offer was not accepted, but it shows that he was in the eyes of a great political opponent a man of mark and a man of worth. Here and there in the diaries and memoirs of the period,[1] his speeches are mentioned, and for

[1] Lord Malmesbury (*Diaries and Correspondence*, 1844, ii. 488) comments unfavourably on Lord Guilford's opposition to the Aliens Bill (Jan. 1794) as "violent and mischievous"; but Lord Colchester (*Diaries and Correspondence*, 1861, i. 27) contrasts Lord Grenville and Lord Guilford as "powerful and argumentative but not elegant speakers," with Lord Lauderdale, whom he describes as "fluent and acute, but raving with personal rancour and Jacobinal violence." A third testimony is that of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr John Moore), who reports to his

the most part with approval; but the fullest account which has been preserved of his career and of his general character, is contained in *The Memoirs of the Whig Party* by Lord Holland (i. 86-7): "He was of an indolent, careless disposition, easily satisfied with his company, averse to, if not incapable, of any extraordinary exertion of mind or any great and powerful emotion. Yet he had many of the greatest requisites to form a leading public man—high honour, great frankness, a sound understanding, considerable talents for public speaking, and a temper more conciliatory than any man, Mr Fox excepted, among the leaders of the Opposition. Mr Fox thought him superior to his father, in sterling abilities, in cultivation of mind and decision of character. Even in wit and humour, though confessedly inferior to Lord North, he was by no means deficient." According to the obituary notice in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (April 1802, vol. 72, pp. 281, 282) he fell from his horse when he was in the act of presenting a basket of fruit to Miss Coutts at Cheltenham before his marriage: "By this accident it is supposed the spine of the back (*sic*) was affected, and from this fatal source were derived all the bodily sufferings under which he languished for several years, and that baffled all the skill of the ablest physicians." Of letters to, from, or about him, none have been preserved or have come to light, but the tone and substance of his speeches and the casual testimony of political opponents leave the impression that he was a fair-minded, sunny-tempered man, who could hold and uphold extreme and unpopular views without arrogance and without bitterness.[1]

brother-in-law, Lord Auckland (*Journals and Correspondence* of Lord Auckland, 1861, ii. 477) some details of the attack in force on the Aliens Bill: "Lord Guilford, decidedly influenced by and attached to Fox, opened the battery in a determined but gentlemanlike manner."

[1] Persons who are curious in such matters may like to be reminded that the "Earl of Guildford" (*sic*) is mentioned *honoris causa* in a footnote to Coleridge's juvenile poem *Religious Musings*. It was added in 1797, but, unlike others of the *same date and the same kind, has kept its place through all editions to the present day*.

SUSAN, COUNTESS OF GUILFORD
(BORN COUTTS)
From a miniature in the possession of the Lord Latymer

Call no man happy or liberal-minded before his death. At the close of his life, in 1800 or 1801, he blew up and almost totally demolished the ancestral home of his family which gives its name to the Barony of North. Kirtling (or Cathlage) Hall, which stands a few miles to the south of Newmarket, "on the edge of Suffolk, was built by Sir Edward North in the reign of Henry VIII. Chancellor of the "Augmentation Court," he was one of the King's executors, and, as he clung to the old faith, "Augmentation" notwithstanding, he was raised to the peerage, in 1554, by Queen Mary, as Baron North of Kirtling. In 1800 (according to Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales*, 1801, ii. 136-7), "much of its original splendour had departed"; but it was still a vast and noble mansion, rich in antiquarian interest and historical association. For here, as we are told, during "the reign of her bigotted sister," the Princess Elizabeth was concealed in one of the towers, slipping out "through an opening in the leads to take the air"; and here, long afterwards, when she was Queen, she was magnificently entertained by Roger North, the second Baron. The great hall, with its music gallery, the chapel decorated with "the heads of the Twelve Apostles," state bedrooms and the rest, were levelled to the ground; but a noble torso, the tower gateway with its four turrets, is still standing and still inhabited.

Byron sold Newstead Abbey to pay his debts and to discharge his marriage settlements, but he would not have dislodged a stone. Lord Guilford was in possession of estates in Oxfordshire and Kent which returned an ample rent-roll, and the explanation of this act of vandalism is yet to seek.

"On Folly every fool his talent tries,
It takes some toil to imitate the wise;
Tho' few like Fox can speak, like Pitt can think,
Yet all like Fox can game—like Pitt can drink."

S. T. C.

Lord Guilford did not "game" like his hero Fox, but according to his kindly critic Lord Holland, he was, in one respect, of the following of Pitt; and it is likely enough that port wine may have prevented him from throwing off the effects of his accident. A chronic invalid, he seems to have sought change and rest under his father-in-law's roof. His eldest daughter, Susan, the future Baroness North, was born at Waldershare Park, but his second daughter, Georgiana was born in Stratton Street, and in Stratton Street the only son of the second marriage, Frederick Augustus, Lord North, was born, March 2, 1801, and died,[1] January 25th, 1802. Two months later, April 1, the father died also. Perhaps it was sorrow for the death of his heir, the child of so many hopes, which robbed him of the impulse to live and hastened his end. Father and son sleep with their forefathers under the chancel of Wroxton Church, and in the same spot, when their time came, Susannah and Thomas Coutts were laid to rest. In a kind of rough cash-book devoted to brief records of good and bad debts, bonds discharged in full, and bonds which were "worth nothing," is inserted this brief but speaking entry: "July 8, 1803. Francis Earl of Guilford, this day upstairs in my House in The Strand, gave me leave to be buried, and also my Wife, at Wroxton near my Dear Daughter's Lovely little Boy."

[1] There is no representative in the male line of George the Third's Lord North. The Barony was revived in the person of his granddaughter, Lady Susan North, and is held by her son the present Lord North, the eleventh Baron. The Earldom of Guilford passed to Francis the fourth and Frederick the fifth Earl, and at his death in 1826, devolved on the Reverend Francis North, grandson of the first Earl, and great-grandfather of the present peer. If the baby had lived, how different would have been the lives and fortunes of his uncles and kinsfolk on his father's side, and how might *not* have fared his unborn cousin, Miss Angela Burdett Coutts!

XI

Thomas Coutts to La Comtesse D'Albestroff.

CLIFTON HILL NEAR BRISTOL,
4th August, 1796.

My absence from London has prevented my answering your kind letters, but I hope Mr Wickham will show you some attention if you should find it necessary to apply to him. I have inclosed a letter to him, but I do not think the Secretary of State here would choose to interfere in regard to any person appearing to be French—I mean he would rather choose to leave it to the Minister at the place abroad to use his discretion.

I shall send this to Mr Zeerleder at Berne, who will pay you the value of Twenty-Five Guineas when you please to receive it from me.

I am at present at this place with Mrs Coutts and Miss Fanny on account of her health, which has not yet recovered the effects of her severe fever. Lady Guilford and Mrs Burdett are well at their residences. The latter has a charming son and daughter. Accept, my Dear Madam, our kind wishes and believe me ever, your most faithful servant,

T. COUTTS.

XII

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

2nd September, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was happy to receive your kind letter yesterday, and the receipt of it gave great pleasure to Mrs Coutts as well as to me, though what it contained of public affairs only added to the gloomy view I have of them which I find from many various channels—both sides of Parliament and from men of neither side, is the universal opinion. Indeed I must give credit to myself that from

the beginning I was so far from thinking the war just or necessary that I always have thought it would lead to very fatal consequences. The Ministry who have made it would wish to get out of it—and have no other hope but that the resources of France will fail—alas with 3 p. Ct. at 55 and thirty millions more to borrow—who's resources will fail first? As to an invasion I think it neither so near as some nor so far off as others imagine. If our enemies act wisely they will ruin us first, and we shall then fall an easy prey.

Yours sincerely,
THOMAS COUTTS.

XIII

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

September 21st, 1796.

Many thanks, My Dear Sir, for your good news. I hope Jourdan's army is demolished and that Moreau's may follow. I think Buonaparte's will one day or other be demolished in Italy. There wants but a hearty spirit in the natives against such invaders, to overcome them. I wish, *that want,* may not be too prevalent in our Island. I have heard, with much concern, in various parts, among the lower sorts, the people say, "we can be no worse, come who may." This is a most frightful idea to prevail, and I am more afraid of it than of a hundred thousand French men "Armed all in Proof, and led by Buonaparte." But we may hope that peace on any decent terms may follow these defeats? or will our rulers grow Cock-a-whoop upon them and hold high the head? I shall be very sorry if they do, for we are in a most alarming state with respect to finances, and continuation of war must be utter ruin.

Mr Pitt raises £85 by a Navy Bill for £100, which by Act of Parliament he must pay with £5 for interest in 15 months and which he can only do by giving (if the price continues as it is to-day) about £131. Five per cent.

Stock. The Foleys, or any other mad extravagant heirs of fortune, never in their minority borrowed money on such ruinous terms after a night spent at the gaming table.

Mrs Coutts and Fanny beg you will kindly remember them and me by writing when leisure permits, and the pressure of *increasing* family affairs leaves you a minute to spare to

Yours sincerely,
T. COUTTS.

XIV

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

20th November, ?1796.

Many thanks, My Dear Sir, for your kind letter. We have been absent three weeks and more on a journey in hopes of benefit to Fanny, but without success, tho' we were fortunate in weather, and other occurrences, and an agreable chearful good humoured companion all the way in Mr Erskine: The good Season is past, and she is worse instead of better; what to do next I know not—we promised to be at Waldershare at this day—and Mrs Burdett who is much recovered is there to meet us, that we might be altogether under the same roof which would have been matter of great joy—if poor Fanny had been well. As you say had there been peace too it would have added to our pleasure—but indeed there seems no favourable prospect—however, I hope the Emperor will not make a separate treaty. Meanwhile I have some idea Mr Pitt must think confidently of making peace. Otherwise he is mad to think of raising their supplies by anything like a forced loan, for he may fail in getting it. He may bring about a bankruptcy or even a civil war.

I think all three are, at least, the possible result of such a measure being persisted in.

I hope you enjoy health and pleasure and I pray for

peace and a comfortable dinner in Stratton Street—and our guns to be turned to plowshares and our swords into pruning hooks!

God Bless you! *All* send
You their best wishes,
T. COUTTS.

XV

Thomas Coutts to the Right Honourable William Pitt.

STRATTON STREET,
28th November, 1796.

SIR,

I have been detained in Derbyshire much longer than I intended partly by Miss Coutts's long illness and the desire I had for the advice of Dr Darwin whose genius and skill I hold in high esteem.

I am sorry to have been absent at a time when you have thought the opinion or aid of those in my line could be useful, and am persuaded you could depend on whatever I have in my power for your assistance individually—or for the public good, being given with willing zeal: I hope, however, you found every attention from Mr Antrobus, and I have the greatest confidence in his judgement as well as in Mr Harman's, Mr Dent's, etc. with whom my House has aways acted cordially.

I am under a particular obligation to meet all my family at Lord Guilford's in Kent, and promised to have been there last Sunday, but I shall not go till Wednesday, in the meanwhile if you have any wish to see me I will attend you, but I imagine there is nothing new for me to add to the other gentlemen's sentiments. I confess even the last proposal does not seem to be very likely to bring a very large sum — and I have ever thought the public opinion and the apparent strength of the country will not be raised by any mode of borrowing that is to be brought forward with a loss to the lenders—and by all I have overheard of forced or voluntary loans in

other countries. They have never answered well, or been productive.

You Sir, however, have thought more and can judge better of anything than I can pretend to do. I shall therefore only add that I am with sincere respect,

Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

THOMAS COUTTS.

XVI

Thomas Coutts to the Right Honourable William Pitt.

STRAND,
2nd December, 1796.

SIR,

Mr Dent, Mr Hoare, Mr Snow, Mr Gosling, Mr Drummond and myself met to-day, and have each subscribed £50,000. . . . I shall leave town to-morrow, having stayed solely to do any service in my power in forwarding this business, which I sincerely wish and hope may be the means of procuring peace on fair and honourable terms.

I am, Sir,

THOMAS COUTTS.

We have subscribed £10,000 in your name and shall take care to make the payments.

XVII

Thomas Coutts to the Right Hon. William Pitt.

BATH, *7th December*, 1796.

SIR,

Having written very earnestly to Mr Rose on the subject of Bills to a considerable amount drawn on me by Sir Gilbert Elliot—on the faith of his salary, without my being able to ascertain any certain time for

the payment, I think it a duty I owe Sir Gilbert (though I am unwilling to trouble you at this time) to write to you on the subject before I allow his bills to be protested and returned. It would give me much pleasure to prevent a measure so unpleasant in it's consequences, but I really can advance no more money; so that unless the Treasury can order payment of his warrant for £10,000 *I see no remedy*. I hope you will have the goodness to give it your attention. I am Sir, with sincere respect.

Your most faithful, and obedt. Servant,
THOMAS COUTTS.

XVIII

Thomas Coutts to Lord Macartney.[1]

Undated.

" I am very sorry I cannot reply in the manner I would wish and in other times would not have hesitated about it for a moment. . . . Most of the bankers I have reason to believe have for two years past declined all advances of money to their best friends; and though I believe my House has been the last to adopt such measures, we have at last been compelled to it. Other circumstances, as well as the exorbitant interest to be made by Navy Bills and other floating securities, have operated completely to employ all idle money people were in use to keep in our hands. The general distress from the war has clipped our wings so much that we are obliged to be on our guard, and the arrears on the Civil List I believe has been as severe on me as on any other, as I have so many friends concerned in it."

[1] *Lord Macartney, our first Ambassador to China*, by Helen H. Robbins, 1908, p. 442.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CARDINAL OF YORK, AND MR "COUTTS, BANQUIER DE LA COUR À LONDRES"

"Time fleets, youth fades, life is an empty dream."
BROWNING'S *Paracelsus*.

TO judge from the dwindling records of the next four years, 1797-1800, a lean sheaf of rare and occasional letters, Coutts was beginning to realise that "all is vanity"! Like Paracelsus (i' the fable) he had "attained," and yet,

> "An altered brow and eye and gait and speech
> Attest that now he knows the adage true,
> 'Time fleets, youth fades, life is an empty dream.'"

A few days after he had passed his sixtieth birthday he tells his aged pensioner, Clementina Walkinshaw, "*ci-devant mâitresse*" of Prince Charlie, that he is "nearing the end of the voyage of life."

Of the future of his country he has but little hope. "The glorious successes of our fleet" off Camperdown in October 1797, and in Aboukir Bay, August 1, 1798, uplift and console him for a time, but before, and even after these interludes of triumph, he utters the dismallest forebodings—a second and even more doleful "Cassandra of the State."

Did he know what he was talking about, or was he querulous and pusillanimous from the dread of losing his great possessions? The explanation does not lie on the surface. Mutiny in the Navy, the suspension of cash pay-

ments, Irish rebellion, disloyalty and disaffection nearer home, the perennial threat of invasion by a triumphant foe were obvious reasons and excuses for those *Fears in Solitude*,[1] which haunted the poet who had so little, and the banker who had so much at stake. Trouble was in the air, but the public derived its knowledge of these dangers and calamities through the blurring and refracting medium of meagre and censored reports in the newspapers, while Coutts got his information at first hand from heads of departments or their subordinates or from the conversation and private letters of persons in authority. Apart from questions of finance he had neither voice or influence in affairs of state (though he tried to get at Pitt through his mother, Lady Chatham) but he knew what was going on, and if he was too prone to count the cost it was because he could realise how great that cost was, and that a day of reckoning would surely come. Moreover, boast as he might of his superiority to party, he was from first to last distrustful of Pitt, and unmoved by any insular contempt of the resources or the patriotic spirit of the French Directory. Both his sons-in-law were stalwart supporters of the opposition, the Earl of Guilford in the House of Lords and Sir Francis Burdett in the Commons, and though he did not take his cue from either the one or the other it was pleasant, for his daughters' sake, to share their sentiments.

He was wealthy " beyond the dreams of avarice," and he had married his daughters as he hoped and intended, but there were drawbacks to his domestic peace and happiness. Lord Guilford, to whom he was sincerely attached, and with whom as host and guest he passed most of his time, was a hopeless invalid, and Burdett must have tried his patience by the extravagance of his opinions, and grieved his heart by his scandalous and notorious intrigue with Lady Oxford. But he hid these troubles and disappointments

[1] *Fears in Solitude.* Written in April, 1798, during the Alarm of an Invasion. By S. T. Coleridge.

" from the many," and if there were family quarrels he appears to have committed the record to the flames.

Last but not least, there was the abiding sorrow of his wife's ill health, physical or mental, or both. He affords no clue, but over and over again there were breakdowns, and he is stopped from starting on a journey or his wife is taken ill at Cheltenham or Bath, or on a visit to a country house. For the last ten years of her life she was out of her mind, and, possibly, these earlier attacks were accompanied by some partial and temporary loss of reason. Coutts would have been described by his contemporaries as a " Man of Feeling." His wife and the " Ladies," as he entitled his unmarried daughters, were all in all to him ; but, as old age approached, domestic happiness dwindled and gave place to domestic anxiety and distress. It would seem, too, that for some unexplained reason Caleb Whitefoord the first, the closest, and the last of his old friends had ceased to visit or to write to him. In Gillray's famous caricature of *The New Morality*, published August 1, 1798, in which Burdett carries a placard bearing the legend, " Glorious acquittal O'Connor, dedicated to Lady Ox——d," Colridge, (*sic*) a long-eared ass, brandishes some Dactylics, and Charles Lamb squats as a toad. In the matter of modern poetry, I doubt if Coutts got much past Thomson's *Seasons* or his friend Dr Armstrong's *Art of Preserving Health* or he might have exclaimed with Coleridge,

> " Thankless too for peace,
> Secure from actual warfare, we have loved
> To swell the war-whoop, passionate for war ! "

or sighed with the " gentle-hearted Charles,"

> " All, all are gone, the old familiar faces ! "

Correspondence

February 23, 1797, *to December* 30, 1800

I

Thomas Coutts to the Right Honourable William Pitt.

Waldershare Park,
12*th February*, 1797.

Sir,

Some time ago I ventured to state to you the advantage that would result to the public by the sale of Exchequer Bills being entrusted to a banker instead of giving them out in payments to Army agents, etc. etc. I now beg to urge the preference being still due to your employing a banker's house of the first responsibility rather than committing it solely to any broker, from a conviction that a broker acting under the controul [*sic*] and direction of a banker of such rank, will be more called upon for exertion and attention and that the public business will be likely to be done more creditably as well as much more safely, not only in respect of absolute security for the property, but also of integrity and fair dealing, and preserving the dignity of Government, and the consequent respect which seems so essentially necessary.

Had I been in London, I would have asked to speak to you on this business, and as I am absent I will beg of you to see my partner as I can have no doubt of your being convinced of the essential benefit of my plan by which much danger (you cannot be supposed to foresee) may eventually be avoided, and much public credit and profit be secured.

Should this appear at all to you in the view I see it, I flatter myself that the long experience I have had of your friendship (and that of all your family) will make my house secure of the preference of employment in a matter wherein they are at least equally fit with any other in their line. Permit me, Sir, to add that you may rest assured and perfect confidence in every transaction

with either of my partners, Mr Antrobus and Mr Coutts Trotter, and thoroughly depend that no private object will ever induce either of them to deceive or mislead you. These good principles recommended them to me, and I am persuaded cannot fail to establish them in your opinion.

I am, Sir, with sincere respect,
Your most faithful and obedient servant,
THOMAS COUTTS.

P.S.—My house paid up their whole subscription to the Loan along with the first payment, in hopes it might be useful at the moment.

Since I had written my letter I hear from Mr Antrobus that it has been settled in Downing Street to confide the Exchequer Bill Business to his brother Mr Philip Antrobus. *No broker* can be more capable or more deserving of confidence, but even in favour of him I cannot retract my general opinion; and I request you will still give it your further consideration and talk to my partner upon it. If you decide to employ my house the business would still go through Mr Philip Antrobus, who not only would have no objection, but would prefer this arrangement. Having troubled you with my ideas on this subject last year, and it being proved by the alteration you have since made that I was right at least so far, I cannot help thinking the plan of carrying it through the medium of a banker is also eligible; it is a favourable object, I confess, that my house should be employed in it, and I must say few brokers or bankers, if any, have transactions so extensive or connections more general, nor can any (with few exceptions) have greater influence in money concerns acting as I do for the Bank of Scotland and other public bodies in the negotiation of very great funded property.

II

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

WALDERSHARE PARK,
23rd February, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I ought to have thanked you for your kind letter and congratulations, but, as I was writing Brown, I believed you would take it as the same thing, as you two are one.

Lady Guilford continues to recover and her daughter [1] to thrive.

I have a commission which perhaps you can execute for me. My old Aunt, Mrs Stuart,[2] is now at Bath with my old friend Dr Nathan Spens, who has become lame by an unfortunate fall from his horse. He has had recourse for a little amusement to playing on an instrument in which he had made some proficiency in his youth — the Viol di Gambo (*sic*), but it was found troublesome to move so far as from Edinburgh, and he cannot find one at Bath. Now I would willingly buy one and send it to him, but I imagine it is not an instrument in use—and most likely cannot be had; however—you could speak to Longman and Brodrip, or Preston in the Strand (near my house to the Eastward)—and, perhaps, may get it; and if you succeed and will order it to be sent by the Bath Waggon, directed to Dr Spens, Chandos Buildings, Bath, you may pay for it and get the money for the bill from Mr Antrobus. You would perhaps also do me the favour to write or make your clerk write

[1] Lady Susan North, afterwards Baroness North of Kirtling, b. Feb. 6th, 1797, d. March 5, 1884.

[2] Dr Nathan Spens of Edinburgh, and Mrs Stuart of Gullane, were close friends, and from 1785 and onwards interchanged letters of an intimate character, on their real or supposed shortcomings, and the rise and fall of their spiritual temperatures. Five or six of those letters came into the possession of Thomas Coutts, and were preserved among other family papers and documents. The Doctor's letters are signed N. S., but the lady does not even subscribe her initials.

to Dr Spens to say it was sent, when, by what conveyance, and when it will arrive in Bath. Knowing you to be pleased with everything tending to harmony or tending to oblige your old friend, I make no apology—but trust to your indulgence and am affectionately,

Ever yours,

T. COUTTS.

III

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

[*February* 1797].

Will you, my good friend, read the inclosed letter. My Aunt wrote me with the Viol di Gambo to send some Music, but I really thought she or the Doctor might have contrived to get it at Bath where there is music and music shops enough. And, besides, I thought I might send music that would be of no use—not understanding the matter myself. If you can manage to send them a little, that will do, for this instrument, Scotch music I suppose will please the most.

This is a troublesome commission, but really women, when they have a point in view are very apt to think of nobody's conveniency but their own.

I hope you are better. I am not less oppressed and harassed and hurried, but——

Ever yours,

[T. COUTTS].

IV

Thomas Coutts to the Right Honourable William Pitt.

Sunday, 19th March, 1797.

SIR,

I send enclosed a memorandum showing the state of the Prince's Debentures. I very much fear those persons with whom you may advise on that business, may not have seen much of the effect these securities have on the money market, which has come particularly under my observation, and proved to me the impression

they continually are making, at the times, especially when they operate most disagreeably. I am very sure also that the relief from taking them away would be powerfully found in any new loan you may have occasion to negotiate. I am confident in times of difficulty and distrust, that the example of any of the long established bankers will be followed by a great number of the most opulent subscribers—but I may speak for others as well as for myself, that unless every measure of facility is adopted, and the market eased of every sort of ruinous floating paper, it will not be in the power of any of us to give the support we wish to any loan either in the way of subscribing or purchasing.

I have considered the measure of the bonus to induce full payments to be made on the last loan, and communicated my ideas on it to Mr Antrobus, who I have requested to give you the result after any further observations he can make; but, indeed, these ruinous floating securities, with such enormous profit, baffles every computation, and renders it almost impossible for you in reason to offer what it will be worth any subscriber's while to accept.

I am, Sir, with sincere respect,
Your most faithful humble servant,
THOMAS COUTTS.

[Memorandum.] The amount of the principal of the Prince's Debentures, after the payments due the 5th of April, 1797, are made, is £432,344.

V

Thomas Coutts to the Countess of Chatham.

WALDERSHARE PARK,
7th May, 1797.

MADAM,

The calamities of the war, and the consequent public distress, have deprived every person in my line of their former powers to oblige and accommodate their friends, and I have been under the necessity to limit

myself, very unwillingly, in many cases where it has been much against my inclination; but your Ladyship may depend I will always consider you as an exception from any general rule, and that things must become much worse than they are as yet before I have recourse to any restriction that may affect your conveniency in regard to any drafts you may have occasion to make on my house. I beg therefore you may continue to draw as usual.

I intend to go to town this week and I flatter myself with the hope of hearing there is a treaty likely to commence for restoring peace, on honourable and permanent terms, with our foreign enemies, so as to give time to settle domestic affairs, particularly in Ireland. Meanwhile the appearance of plenty everywhere is a very favourable circumstance, particularly too *in Ireland*, where, by a letter I received to-day, potatoes are sold commonly to the poor at one penny a stone; and I have great reason to believe as the disturbances there are political among themselves, and by no means proceeding from disaffection (to this country or its rulers) or disloyalty, that means will be easily found to settle them speedily before evil-minded people are able to raise the flame of any unextinguishable height.

My family have remained here all this year, but I have had frequent calls to town myself, and I did not fail when I had the pleasure of seeing both Lord Chatham and Mr Pitt, to make enquiry of your Ladyship's health. . . .

I am, Madam [etc. etc.],
THOMAS COUTTS.

VI

Thomas Coutts to the Countess of Chatham

Near TUNBRIDGE WELLS,
1st September, 1797.

MADAM,

I had a call of business to London and have been detained there near a fortnight, though I meant to

have passed it with my family at a very rural retreat in the neighbourhood of Tunbridge Wells, where they have been some time.

When in town last week I had the pleasure of meeting Mr Pitt and Lord Chatham at dinner at Mr Crawford's, and of seeing them both in perfect health. Lord Chatham seemed to regret much his not having been able to fulfil the purpose of visiting your Ladyship as yet this summer.

We had the pleasure of two of your Ladyship's granddaughters to dine with us yesterday at our retreat, both very amiable and unaffected young ladies. Lady Hester Stanhope is to remain some little time at the Wells, but the rest of the family are about leaving us. She is a great favourite with my daughters.

I am, Madam [etc. etc.],
THOMAS COUTTS.

VII

Thomas Coutts to La Comtesse d'Albestroff.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS, KENT,
24th September, 1797.

I have received your kind letter dated the 18th August. The negotiation for peace has ended as I always thought and said it would—so much the worse for England, for France and for all Europe. The end of such misery nobody can foresee, and happy are they who have left the world without witnessing or partaking of the calamity.

Mrs Coutts and myself are getting near the end of life's voyage; but Lady Guilford has one daughter. Lady Burdett also one and a son, and Miss Coutts is young and may marry. I am sorry for the public distress they are likely to be witnesses of. Sir Robert Burdett, grandfather to my son-in-law, is dead since I last wrote to you, and he has succeeded to his estate, and is now Sir Francis.

I shall send this under a cover to Mr Zeerleder of Berne and desire him to pay you the value of £26, 5s., a Twenty five guineas.

I fear things are as bad as possible at Rome. There is nothing much better anywhere.

Adieu. Believe me ever affectionately yours,

T. COUTTS.

A Frenchman, Mr De Grave, promised me he would enquire for you at Fribourg. He is a very worthy man.

VIII

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

Near TUNBRIDGE WELLS,
20th October, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

It seems an age since I have seen—or heard of you. How do you do? What is become of Brown. How does he do?

How happy Admiral Duncan[1] has made us, and how gracefully his new made honours sit upon him! I observe in all the papers they state the British Fleet to have been superior in number of guns. By *The Gazette* it appears in number of men, in the line, we were 895 more than the Dutch, but in number of guns ten less. I have written the particulars from the *Gazette* on the other side. [A Catalogue of British and Dutch ships—men of war and frigates—was enclosed in the letter.]

I think the papers should set it right, and also tell us the killed and wounded in the five following, vizt.: the *Monmouth*, *Russell*, *Director*, *Montagu* and *Adamant* which has not yet been given. You may send your letter if you write it to the Strand, for I am not sure but I may go to Eastbourne to see Lady Burdett. Mr Trotter will know the direction.

Pray tell me you are well: may it long be so, prays

Yours ever affectly., T. COUTTS.

[1] Admiral Adam Duncan defeated the Dutch under De Winter, off Camperdown, October 11, 1797. He was created Baron Duncan of Lundie, and Viscount Duncan of Camperdown.

Mrs Coutts and Fanny kindly remember you. Mrs Coutts wants me to go to town to see Mrs Crawford [1] return to the stage and to get you to go with us. But we shall see what you say of the old and new candidates for theatrical fame. They have been many in number but I hear little of excellence.

IX

Thomas Coutts to the Countess of Chatham.

Nr. TUNBRIDGE WELLS,
20th October, 1797.

MADAM,

I am persuaded your Ladyship has received, as I am sure I have, a cordial in the happy success of Admiral Duncan's glorious victory, and the fortunate consequences it must draw after it—even though it should not operate to incline our enemies to put an end to the horrors of war : securing internal quiet is a great object, and in this view my old friend the gallant Admiral has well deserved all the honours that have been paid him.

Much as I am gratified by the advantage to Britain and the encouragement of the ancient spirit of the country by this happy event, it pleases me additionally, by bringing to mind the splendour of former days ; and being the work of a man I have known and regarded all through life. Such an example will, I am convinced, be followed by new acts of heroism, and since war must still scourge the world, that we shall get into a run of success in the present contest that will bring it to an end ; for I believe nothing else will drive the governors of France to reason.

Lady Stanhope and the young ladies have been gone

[1] Anne Street Barry (1734 to 1801) was the second wife of Hector Spranger Barry and played Cordelia to his Lear. After Barry's death she married Crawford, a man much younger than herself. She was first billed as Mrs Crawford in 1778. Her last appearance was as Lady Randolph at Covent Garden in 1798. She was buried in Westminster Abbey.

for some time to Chevening. The young ladies are really very amiable and extremely sensible ; it is to be regretted they are kept so much sequestered, as their spirit cannot be repressed and might be better directed.

I thought your Ladyship might wish to hear of them, and I hope therefore will pardon the liberty taken by one who sincerely wishes them well.

I am, Madam [etc. etc.],
THOMAS COUTTS.

X

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

Near TUNBRIDGE WELLS,
First November, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I made some of your friends happy by reading them your letter full of your usual good-humoured wit and entertaining observations. Sir John Macpherson[1] brought the Son of Ossian, your old friend, to dine with me, and he seems an agreeable enough young man—though he has been thirteen or fourteen years in India he looks like a boy. Have you been to see any of the ancient novelties and new antiques? I wish to know how Mrs Barry was received. I liked her best by that name.

Is Mr Johnstone[2] deserving of so high a praise as "The Edinbr. Roscius"? A young actor with merit would do well to get into Drury Lane. He will grow worse in the other house. In Drury Lane he may improve if he does not stoop to imitation—if he does he forfeits his claim to genius in my mind.

[1] Sir John Macpherson (1745-1821), succeeded Warren Hastings as Governor General of India in 1785 and was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis in 1786. In 1797 he was M.P. for Horsham. He was a kinsman of James Macpherson the alleged translator of "Ossian's" Fingal and Temora. The "Son of Ossian" who looked like a boy, a natural son of James Macpherson, was named Charles. He died in India.

[2] John Henry Johnstone, 1749-1828. He was known as "Irish Johnstone" from his success in Irish comedy parts.

Is it true what I see to-day in the paper that the Emperor has made peace, without us? I am disappointed at it, and sorry. I had a letter from Brown, and really feel for him on the loss of his nephew. I hope the father will be able to surmount so heavy a trial. We cannot yet decide on our motions, but hope soon to see you well, which will be a great pleasure to Mrs Coutts and Fanny, and, no less so, to your affectionate,

T. COUTTS.

Pray remember me to Brown, and thank him for his letter, and tell him I shall be glad of the news of the Parliament Meeting.

XI

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS,
21*st November*, 1797.

I have always been intending to go to town for a few days, which has prevented my answering your kind letter and thanking you for both verses and prose—French and English.

Mrs Coutts was much pleased, but women, you know, always want "a little more," and she wishes for such a letter once a week. In plain truth, we are both pleased always when we hear from you and hear you are well and enjoying yourself. Everybody is running away from this summer retreat where we have only waited for Lady Burdett, and she has been with us above a week but finds it a bad season for the water, and as Sir Francis and she mean to keep Christmas at Foremark, and he must go to town, they are about leaving us, and we shall, therefore, soon pack up, bag and baggage. We should all go, I believe, to Foremark, were it not that Lady Guilford cannot be of the party on account of her Lord's health, and though he is much better he will hardly venture on such a journey, and she presses us to come to her at Bath,

What think you of Buonaparte and the Army of England ?[1] I wish we could have a good blow at this Brest Fleet, it might bring them to reason. Adieu, my dear Sir,

Ever yours,
T. COUTTS.

XII

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

BATH,
Friday, 22nd December, 1797.

To have past through London without the pleasure of seeing you, added much to numberless vexations Mrs Coutts and me underwent in four days we past there in which we never could command a quarter of an hour for any agreeable purpose. I went two or three times to the Strand, and there I was beset from the moment till I made my escape by all sorts of applications, all which in various modes of refusal I was to resist.

In short I was never easy till I passed the turnpike at Hyde Park, and, now, here we are, at Bath, in Laura Place—in the only house to be hired in this neighbourhood (near Lord Guilford's) and we are obliged to be content with it as it is. Such is the crowd at present resorted to this great hospital.

The weather is very discouraging and I am not much encouraged by the appearance of Lord Guilford's health, though I am not altogether without hope of his recovery, which, however, must be the work of much time and care.

The public affairs which used to be the least object of my solicitude now present a picture too threatening

[1] "Towards the end of October, 1797," writes Sir Walter Scott, "the Directory announced that there should be instantly assembled on the shores of the ocean [it sounds a little vague] an army, to be called the Army of England, and that the Citizen General Bonaparte was raised to the Command." *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte,* 1828, p. 224.

to be unnoticed. You used to come to Bath—if anything but want of health should bring you there we would be all happy to see you. At any rate, do send us sometimes accounts of yourself and of the world as it goes, and Believe me,

Ever most sincerely yours,

T. Coutts.

XIII

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

Wednesday [1797].

Going to Piccadilly yesterday at two o'clock, I met Mr Burdett.

I asked him where he was going. He said to Chiswick in consequence of a request of mine. I asked him if he had been under any engagement to Mr Whitefoord! upon which, to do him justice, he blushed—and with great signs of astonishment confessed that he had entirely forgot it, though he had particularly remembered it the day before, and indeed had spoken of it to me. To us, *exact people*, these things seem strange!

I met Sir Jno. Macpherson afterwards, who told me he had been with the Margravine of Anspach [1] at Mr Townly's,[2] where Mrs and the Miss Coutts's had been expected. Sir John, I suspect, was not correct in this. For I did not understand that it had ever been proposed

[1] Elizabeth (1750-1828), younger daughter of Augustus, fourth Earl of Berkeley, married the Earl of Craven in 1767, separated from him in 1783, and, in 1791, six weeks after his death, was married to the Margrave of Anspach with whom she had lived for some years previously. She tried to be presented at Court as the Princess Berkeley, but Queen Charlotte was inexorable. She published plays, *lettres de voyage*, and her own memoirs.

[2] Charles Townly (1737-1805) formed his collection of marbles, bronzes, etc., at Rome, with the assistance of Gavin Hamilton the artist, and Thomas Jenkins the banker and art-dealer, an acquaintance and corresponding agent of Thomas Coutts. The Townly marbles, etc., were sold in 1805 for £25,000, and were bought for the British Museum.

that Mrs and Miss Coutts should go yesterday to Mr Townly's.

The Margravine supped with us that night, after we had dined with you, and Sir John then mentioned our having dined with the Townlys, which led to his gallanting thither the great lady. As *the* etc. were *there*, I am in hopes Mr Townly may think it as well no more came—too many at once being tiresome. You must try to set matters right with Mr Townly and to get a day with him for us all to come.

We are exact folk and I wish you to give Mr Burdett one trial more (being *the third* and lucky number) before you cut him. He said he durst not call on you or write himself.

Yours ever,
T. COUTTS.

XIV

The Right Honourable W. Pitt to Messrs Coutts and Co.

DOWNING STREET,
19*th January*, 1798.

MESSRS COUTTS & CO.,

Subscribe a sum of £2,000 in my name to be paid by six instalments previous to the 5th of February, 1799, into the Bank of England, on account of voluntary contribution and assessed taxes under the Act of the present session.

W. P.

XV

Thomas Coutts to the Countess of Chatham.

BATH, 26*th March*, 1798.

MADAM,

In the uncertain state of Lord Guilford's health my Lady Guilford has felt so uneasy, being at a distance from all her friends, and she has been so urgent

for her mother and sister remaining here, that I could not refuse her entreaties, and have stayed on from week to week; and at last I had an unfortunate accident of a fall down a flight of steps that confined me some time, though I broke no bone. However, I have now got pretty well over it. In one respect I have not been sorry to be out of London, as the distresses of the war have rendered the situation of those in my line of business extremely difficult, and particularly teasing, as those who want our aid and many who we would be happy to assist, often imagine we refuse them only to make a greater advantage of the use of the money—which is extremely unjust, in my case, at least, for I have actually declined all concern in public loans, however lucrative, merely to have the power in some degree of still doing something, though it is not everything I could wish, for my old connections. I beg your Ladyship will draw as usual for whatever you may find necessary, as you may depend you will be the last person to whom anything possible for me to do will be denied, and that it will always be a great gratification to me to show you every mark of my attention and respect. . . .

It gives me pleasure to hear among the cruel calamities and the strange appearances of the world, that Lord Chatham and Mr Pitt enjoy their health, and that your Ladyship escapes so well from the rigours of the season. I beg to offer my compliments to Mrs Stapleton; it is a comfort to think that the pleasure you derived from the possession of your dear grandchild is transferred to Lady Chatham, one of the most amiable of women: she is a great favourite in my family, and I believe among all who have the happiness to know her.

I am, Madam [etc., etc.],
THOMAS COUTTS.

I have subscribed in all £2,200 myself to the voluntary contributions, and have sometimes been obliged to assist some of my friends to make good their quotas.

XVI

Thomas Coutts to the Countess of Chatham.

STRAND, 30*th July*, 1798.

MADAM,

I ought sooner to have acknowledged the kind letter with which your Ladyship honoured me at the same time. I have the greater pleasure in doing it now that I can inform you I had the pleasure on Saturday of seeing Mr Pitt in perfect health, and his looks and every appearance indicating his gaining ground by his late indisposition, and being really much better than he had been for a twelvemonth before. I flatter myself he may have some leisure at Walmer Castle, and I assured him from Lord Guilford that if the shooting season or in any other respect, his place at Waldershare, which is close by, can afford anything for his comfort or amusement, it would make him very happy.

For the last ten days Lord Guilford, though still very weak, has certainly been easier and better, which flatters his friends with some hope; but for my own part I fear there is something wrong which physic cannot reach, and will baffle all art to recover. We must submit, though it is a hard case at his age, and the prospect had he survived, too, of a growing family.

The public anxiety for news of Admiral Nelson is extreme. How happy should it be gratified by the issue. Mr Pitt stated it to me as five chances—three of which were in our favour. I hope, however, at any rate, the expedition on which it would seem the French have expended their whole strength, and vapoured so much about, will for a year at least be disappointed. Had they been able to have done more, they certainly would have attempted Ireland under the late circumstances of that unfortunate country; but as rebellion there seems to be entirely crushed, I flatter myself some measures will be taken to unite the two Islands more firmly in the concord so essential to the good of both.

I am, Madam [etc. etc.],

THOMAS COUTTS.

XVII

Thomas Coutts to the Countess of Chatham.

STRAND, *29th October*, 1798.

MADAM,

I cannot sufficiently thank your Ladyship for your repeated goodness in writing to me, and can only say your letters always give me great pleasure. I had a very particular satisfaction in perusing the last, as it gave me the impression that your health and strength was improved. The glorious success of our fleets, unequalled in the naval annals of the world, have, I have no doubt, been an effectual cordial to your spirits. I am sure they have acted as such upon mine; and indeed it seems as if the impression had been universal over the world. I hope it will rouse the spirit of the continental powers to revenge the insults and robberies with which the French Government have outraged all honour and propriety, and overturned in their career all law and religion and every moral and social tie that have hitherto been respected by men and by nations, and have even been traced among savages and barbarians.

I have been kept in town the whole summer in an anxious state on account of Lord and Lady Guilford being in my house—and really for a long while in daily fears for his life. He has, however, proved how much the medical men are liable to mistake. He has now continued better for several weeks, and though I cannot absolutely look on his case with certainty, or think him out of danger, yet as Nature has done so much, we may naturally hope she may do more, as we may be allowed reasonably to flatter ourselves with a degree of hope from these circumstances.

I hear from everybody the best accounts of Mr Pitt's health as well as Lord Chatham's. I flatter myself to receive sometimes a pleasing continuation of your Ladyship's happiness, and that the winter may, though frosty, prove kindly, and not too severe.

I am [etc. etc.],
THOMAS COUTTS.

I have had the strongest assurance from Hamburg that Buonaparte's army have been so harassed as to offer to capitulate, and also a confirmation of his retreat by sea being cut off by the total destruction of all his ships at Alexandria.[1] The tide, I hope, is completely turned.

XVIII

Thomas Coutts to La Comtesse d'Albestroff.

LONDON, 15*th January*, 1799.

I received, my Dear Madam, your kind letter dated 20 November, and I see you are still at Fribourg. The times grow daily worse and every nation is doomed to feel in its turn the effects of the fatal opinions that have ruined Europe. For what good end these horrors are permitted heaven only knows, but I think they will go on and at last reach England. Perhaps some new Empire may rise on our ruins in America and elsewhere.

Lady Guilford has got another daughter, and is well. Lady Burdett and her son and daughter are well. Miss Coutts continues well. Mrs Coutts and myself are very old—and approaching our end. Lord Guilford has been very ill, but lately there is some small hope he may recover.

I have desired Mr Zeerleder, Banker of Berne, to whom I send this, to pay you the value of Twenty-five Guineas. I hope it will go safe to your hands, and be useful.

All my family unite in sincere good wishes for your health. Adieu, my Dear Madam. May Heaven give you the comfort which this vile world denies!

T. COUTTS.

[1] In Aboukir Bay on the night of August 1, 1798.

XIX

Thomas Coutts to the Right Honourable William Pitt.

STRAND, *6th April*, 1799.

SIR,

I find the young Princes who have got the new allowance of £12,000 a year, believe their income is not to be given in as that sum, but on their former allowance for the year 1798. I do not wonder they should think so, for the mercantile and professional incomes being taken by a retrospect, it has been generally imagined that gentlemen having settled incomes are to be on the same footing.

I wish you would have the goodness to inform me for them on which they must pay, as they will submit to what you may say is the law without further question. I am in hopes this may be the means of saving you trouble. I shall therefore only add that,

I am, Sir [etc. etc.],
THOMAS COUTTS.

XX

Thomas Coutts to the Countess of Chatham.

STRAND, *10th August*, 1799.

MADAM,

The public events and the happy appearance, that bounds seem at last to be set to French tyranny and oppression, have given the greatest comfort to everybody, and we flatter ourselves that this country will have the merit of being under Heaven the instrument of restoring peace and order to the world.

Meanwhile the *anxiety* among the momentous occurrences now in expectation is great and awful, but with such exertions in such a cause, we may be allowed the pleasing hope at least of a favourable issue.

I am, Madam [etc. etc.],
THOMAS COUTTS.

XXI

Thomas Coutts to the Marquis of Wellesley, Governor-General of India.

STRAND, *9th October*, 1799.

MY LORD,

I take the liberty of addressing your Lordship to state the case of Mr Archibald Seton,[1] a gentleman in the Company's service at Patna—but tho' to endeavour to do him a service, I am free to confess, is the object of my letter—yet I wish first to indulge myself by expressing my sincere congratulations on the splendid success of your government, which seems to have placed the India Company in a state of security beyond example: it must give great pleasure to every Englishman as a public event, and to your Lordship's family and friends must be a subject of great joy and satisfaction.

Mr Seton was born the second son of a very ancient

[1] Archibald Seton was the son of Hugh Smith, who married Elizabeth Paterson, born Seton of Touch, and grandson of Charles Smith, a wine merchant at Boulogne. Hugh Smith assumed the surname of Seton, and either mismanaged or squandered his wife's inheritance. He was a friend of James Coutts, and was concerned in fixing the award when the Brothers Coutts dissolved partnership in 1775. Afterwards we hear of his being in the King's Bench for £90,000. He was connected with the Couttses through the Stuarts of Allanbank, his sister Margaret Agnes Smith having married the third Baronet, Sir John Stuart, in 1752. It was this Lady Stuart, born Smith, who, according to Tom Coutts, made up the match between her son John (afterwards fourth baronet) and his niece Fanny. Archibald Seton made good the claims advanced on his behalf, became a member of the Supreme Council, Bengal, and was afterwards Governor of Prince of Wales Island. He died unmarried in 1818, and transmitted to his sister Lilias the estate of Touch-Seton, and the office of hereditary armour-bearer to the sovereign, and squire of the Royal Body in Scotland. There were three heiresses of Touch, Elizabeth who married Hugh Smith, her daughter Lilias who married Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton (the author of the "Planter's Guide," 1828), and her grand-daughter Elizabeth Margaret who married Sir Reginald Macdonald of Staffa, the grandfather of the present Sir Alan Henry Seton-Steuart of Allanton House in Lanarkshire, and Touch, near Stirling.

family in Scotland, and luckily he was educated with a view to some civil profession, and very early had formed in his mind a desire to go to India, which, when his elder brother died, his father still encouraged—secretly conscious, I believe, that he had injured his fortune which, independent of the old family estate, had always, by the world, been supposed very considerable. The family estate came by his mother who was the heiress of Touch, and his father very unjustifiably contrived to make him join in securities for large sums of money (previous to his bankruptcy). The young man being in India and little suspecting the possibility that he was, besides inheriting nothing from his father's supposed riches—to be thereby deprived of the ancient family possession of his mother—which, however, he finds he has involved in debts far beyond its value. The object of his life will be to redeem this estate—and he has already by his exertions done something towards so desirable a purpose. I flatter myself your Lordship will think it is an amiable and laudable ambition, and that his case is a very hard one. The calamity in which he has been involved being through no fault of his own, but on the contrary, from a dutiful obedience and compliance with the desire of his father. Notwithstanding the circumstances I have mentioned which must, in some degree, interest every man not devoid of the sentiments of humanity, I would not have ventured to write in Mr Seton's favour, if I had not the greatest reason to believe he is a young man of considerable abilities and of the most admirable character.

I imagine he must be known very well by Sir John Anstruther, and as he has been some time resident at Patna, perhaps not unknown to your Lordship. He is hereditary armour-bearer for Scotland, to the King—and if through any attentions in your Lordship's power, with propriety in your public situation, to show him, he may, in time, recover his natural inheritance. I am persuaded to see him at home in the enjoyment of it, will be among the pleasing reflections of the good you were able to do during your very extended and important government.

That your Lordship may return home with health and everything enjoyment your conduct and success can deserve is my sincere and earnest wish.

I am, my Lord [etc. etc.],
THOMAS COUTTS.

XXII

Thomas Coutts to La Comtesse d'Albestroff.

BATH,
26th December, 1799.

MY DEAR MADAM,

I write in the name of myself and my three daughters and Mrs Coutts who are all here, to wish you a happy New Year and many of them. I have had the pleasure to hear that his Majesty with his usual goodness has extended his bounty to the Cardinal Duke, and that Lord Minto, Minister at Venice, has been ordered to pay him £2000 and to assure him he will receive the same sum half-yearly, that is four thousand pounds a year. Surely he cannot refuse a small degree of humanity towards you, when he is receiving it so liberally himself from our most amiable and best of Kings. I have ordered Twenty-five Guineas to be delivered to you with this by the hands of a Banker at Berne. Adieu, Dear Madam! Be assured always of my regard and esteem.

T. COUTTS.

XXIII

Thomas Coutts to Henry Benedict, Cardinal of York.

THE STRAND, LONDON,
28 *March*, 1800.

SIR,

I had the honour of writing to your Highness the 25th instant, and of inclosing a Circular Letter of credit for two thousand pounds, directed, to Messrs John Conrad Reck and Co., at Venice, and to Mr Alexander Sloane at Rome.

Since which Sir John Cox Hippisley having presented to me your order to pay him Five hundred pounds, I paid the same without hesitation. Your Highness will, therefore, I suppose, diminish the drafts you will have occasion to make, and my letter of credit, accordingly, to the amount.

I have the honour to subscribe myself with very high respect,

Sir,

Your Highness'

Most faithful and most

Obedient servant,

THOMAS COUTTS.

THE CARDINAL OF YORK

In his *Last of the Royal Stuarts*, Mr Herbert Vaughan has presented us with a sympathetic but faithful picture of the man as he appeared to his contemporaries, as he is revealed in letters and diaries and other *pièces justificatives*.[1] A picturesque, a romantic figure, he could hardly fail to excite an interest; but he does more, he deserves it. The protector and counsellor of his ruined and fallen brother, the tenacious but passive upholder of his own shadowy rights, the painstaking, dutiful official, the beloved and devoted shepherd of his flock, he kept, save for one brief storm of persecution and exile, the even tenour of his way. If the divinity that doth " hedge a king " is native and not the accident of place and power, he was not without a share of royal grace. If he spent largely on show and state, on splendid dress, costly equipages and a retinue of officials and servants, he was charitable to the poor, and generous to his brother who had little left to spend, and spent that little ill. When the crash came, and abbeys, benefices and official income as Bishop and Vice-Chancellor were swallowed up by the French, he melted down his gold plate and pawned his jewels to extricate the Pope

[1] See *Henry Benedict, Cardinal of York*, pp. 243-250.

HENRY BENEDICT, CARDINAL OF YORK
From a drawing in pastels, in the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland

from financial ruin. That was noble of him and should be reckoned to his honour.

In his letters to the titular Countess d'Albestroff, Coutts more than once passes judgment on the Cardinal for delaying or altogether withholding the annuity which was assuredly a first charge on his private property. But it must not be forgotten that in July 1791 he paid over to her a sum of 50,000 francs, and that then, or soon after, he was deprived of at least two-thirds of his ecclesiastical revenues, and that from 1798-1800 he was reduced to sell the few pieces of plate which he had hidden in his baggage when he was driven out of Frascati, and hunted from one hiding place to another from Naples to Messina and from Messina to Venice, till a day came when he could not longer afford to live in his "own hired house." If, as Cardinal Borgia informed Sir John Hippisley [1] (Sept. 1799), the Cardinal Duke had lost not only the whole of his official income, but also his "particular funds in the Roman bank" he could hardly be blamed for failing to remit "the annual sum of 3,000 crowns to the mother of his deceased neice." After he was reinstated in his Bishopric and Vice-Chancellorship, and in receipt of £4,000 a year from the British Government, the case was different. He should, perhaps, have considered the claims of Clementina Walkinshaw before he ordered "five new carriages and twelve horses and two mules." [2] But all that we have to go upon is that the Countess appealed to her warm-hearted friend for sympathy and assistance and that he accepted her statements. He knew the Cardinal's bankers were empowered to draw upon him twice a year for £2,000, and he thought that the Cardinal should do as he had been done by; but it is possible that there was another side to the story.

The details of the story of the pension which George the Third conferred on the Cardinal Duke, are put in a fresh light in *The Last of the Royal Stuarts*. Whilst the

[1] *Last of the Royal Stuarts*, pp. 228-330. [2] *Ibid*, p. 253.

conclave for the election of a new Pope was being held at Venice in the summer and autumn of 1799, the Cardinal, who, as sub-Dean of the Sacred College, was engaged in conducting the customary formalities, had taken refuge in a neighbouring monastery. Early in September, with or without his assent, his friend and brother Cardinal, Stefano Borgia, appealed to Sir John Cox Hippisley, who had the confidence of the British Government in matters relating to the Papal Court, to induce the King or his Ministers to rescue an "Illustrious Personage" from misery and destitution. Sir John, who was supported in his plea by Mr Andrew Stuart of Castlemilk (author of *The Genealogical History of the Stuarts*) drew up and presented a memorial to Mr Dundas, who put the matter before the King. The result was that a draft for £500 was at once despatched to Venice, and that three months later (Feb. 9, 1800) Lord Minto, the British Ambassador, was instructed to inform the Cardinal that a sum of £2,000 had been placed at his disposal in the house of Messrs Coutts and Company, and that a like sum would be transmitted in the following July. Nothing is said by Lord Minto or by the Cardinal, in his acknowledgment to Sir John Hippisley, of an annual pension of £4,000, but as this seems to have been understood from the first by Coutts, its apparent limitation to the year 1800 may have been regarded as a matter of form. In his letter to the Cardinal of January 20, 1800, Thomas Coutts does not mention Sir John Hippisley's name, and appears to take credit to himself for having turned the head of "the best of men" to his illustrious but distressed kinsman. However, it may have been before the pension was conferred (and we know that Coutts was commanded by George the Third to present himself to the Cardinal Duke in 1790, and that he brought back to the King a report of the interview), it is certain that for the remainder of his life the Cardinal and his devoted secretary, Monsignore Cesarini, Bishop of Milevi, were in frequent communication

with Thomas Coutts and Company with regard to the anticipation of the annuity and its possible increase. Like others who have been helped through in their difficulties, the Cardinal did not scruple to "ask for more." Coutts assured him that he had done and would do all he could, but held out little hope of success. Times were bad, and though public opinion, or such public opinion as then existed, had approved of the original grant, there would have been an outcry if so unusual a charge had been increased. An obligation and a sense of indebtedness there must have been, for in his will, dated July 15, 1802, the Cardinal bequeathed "a gold snuff-box, an *étui de voyage*, two china vases, and a gold medal of James II. to Mr Thomas Coutts."

XXIV

Thomas Coutts to La Comtesse d'Albestroff.

STRAND, LONDON,
15*th July*, 1800.

MY DEAR MADAM,

I have always been in hope to hear that the Cardinal on receiving from our most amiable sovereign a very liberal allowance of four thousand pounds per annum, had ordered your pension to be regularly paid; and even that he might have ordered me to pay it to your order out of the sum he receives from this country.

I think you should write him a letter stating that you know the generous allowance made to him from England, and implore his justice and generosity to make you an allowance out of it, adding that though you are almost forgotten in England, yet still you have some friends left there to whom you may represent the hardship of your situation; that you hope he will prevent the necessity of your doing so by writing to *Mr Coutts, Banquier de la Cour a Londres*, to pay your small annuity out of the allowance made to his Eminence, as it must make his Eminence appear in a bad light to refuse such a

trifle to the mother of the Duchess of Albany—especially as he inherited all her effects and was charged with the support of her mother, who is now distressed and languishing among strangers in a foreign land.

I hope to hear, Madam, that you are well. I have ordered 25 Guineas to be delivered to you along with this.

Mrs Coutts and my daughters are all well, and if they were in London they would send you their kind remembrance; but they are all in the country. I have recovered from my winter's illness, but I grow weak and very old, and we see no hope of peace. The horrors of the French Revolution will not cease to afflict all Europe, I fear, during the rest of our lives.

Adieu, my Dear Madam,
Believe me your ever faithful
and obedient servant,
T. COUTTS.

XXV

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

STRAND, *8th September*, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR,

Though you have estranged yourself from the society of my house, which at my age is among the greatest misfortunes that can befall me, yet as I know you must retain for me and my family the sentiments of regard and friendship which were not of yesterday, I write two lines as soon as I am at liberty to communicate to you among the first Miss Coutts' intention of marrying with Lord Bute, which I believe will soon take place.

I had almost begun to believe she meant to live always single, having declined so many connections that seemed every way equal and unobjectionable. And though, if she is happy in this, which is a match entirely of her own fancy, I ought to be content, yet I can never cease to be surprised—neither shall I ever cease to remain,

Yours with sincere regard
T. COUTTS.

Sir Thomas Lawrence R.A. pinxit

Walker sc.

Fanny, Marchioness of Bute

From a painting in the possession of the Marquis of Bute

JOHN STUART, FIRST MARQUIS OF BUTE

Fanny, who was certainly the cleverest and perhaps the most attractive of the three Graces, was the last to be married. Delicate from childhood, and of a highly nervous temperament, she had suffered both in mind and body from the sudden and tragical loss of her lover, in 1793, and it was long before she could make up her mind to part with old memories, or forego the luxury of grief. But after seven years of mourning she relented. If her father had set his heart on his daughters making great marriages, his ambition must have been satisfied when the Marquis of Bute, a man not many years younger than himself, was accepted by his youngest daughter, not only without demur, but of her own good will and pleasure. The son of a Prime Minister who at one time ruled England, the inheritor of vast estates, he had recently attained to almost the highest rank in the Peerage; but he was fifty-six years of age, a widower and the father of seven sons and two daughters. Tom Coutts was careful to assure his friends that neither he nor his wife had made the match, that Fanny had been wooed and won after and in accordance with "her own fancy." A well-preserved man of stately and even noble appearance, he might have caught her fancy if he had not been a great prince and "lord of castles nine." Perhaps, too, the mutual admiration was of old date, and it may be that a first acquaintance at Malvern in 1788, when Lord Mountstuart was on a visit to her parents at Malvern, and Fanny, then a wren of thirteen, mounted "to the summit of the hill," had lingered in the memories of the future husband and wife.

John Stuart, fourth Earl and first Marquis of Bute, was neither a conspicuous, or a rememberable personage. It is seldom that a man of his rank and station slips out of the world without some formal blazonry of office and achieve-

ments; but in his case the all-informing pages of *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *The Annual Register* yield little or no information.

He was born June 30, 1744, educated at Winchester under Dr Burton, and at Oxford, where his private tutor was Mr Beadon, a brother of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was tutor to Prince William Frederick of Gloucester. He sat in the house of Commons as member for the rotten borough of Bossiney in Cornwall, and, in 1776, brought in and carried a bill for the establishment of a national militia in Scotland. He served as envoy at Turin from 1779 to 1783, and was appointed ambassador to Madrid in 1785, and again in 1796. He succeeded to the Barony of Cardiff in 1776, to the Earldom of Bute at his father's death in 1792, and to the Barony of Mount Stuart at his mother's death in 1794, though he had borne the courtesy title of Mount Stuart (he signs himself "Mountstuart") during her life-time. On February 28, 1796, on being appointed "ambassador extraordinary, and plenipotentiary to the Catholic King," he was created Viscount Mountjoy, Earl of Windsor, and Marquis of the County of Bute.[1]

He married his first wife, Charlotte Jane, eldest daughter and co-heir of Herbert Windsor Hickman, Viscount Windsor and Baron Mountjoy, on March 12, 1766. She died, January 28, 1800, and on September 18th of the same year he married Fanny Coutts.

He was succeeded (1814) by his grandson, John Crichton Stuart, father (by his second wife, Sophia, daughter of the

[1] "I am delighted," wrote Boswell to Wilkes, April 20, 1776, "to find that my honoured friend and successor, my Lord Mountstuart, made an excellent speech on the Scotch Bill." If Croker may be trusted, Bozzy reckoned without his host in claiming the patronage of Lord Mountstuart. It is evident that some noble personage from whom he had expected much did little or nothing for him, and it may be that Mountstuart who had accepted a somewhat fulsome dedication, and, perhaps, shown him some civility, was unable or unwilling to put him in the way of preferment. See Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, edited by J. W. Croker, 1876, pp. 179, 478, 732 ch.

Marquis of Hastings) of the late Marquis known to his own generation as " Lothair."

A large collection of his letters which he wrote as Envoy at Turin to Sir Robert Murray Keith, ambassador to the Court of Vienna, is preserved at the British Museum. They are official documents, and but little is to be gathered from them save that Lord Mountstuart chafed at the dulness and unimportance of his post, and that he had somewhat magnificent ideas as to state and equipage. His first wife, it may be remembered, bewails rather than complains of his extravagance, when she appealed to Tom Coutts to use his influence with her beloved but self-willed Lord, not to throw up his post at Turin until he was certain to be promoted to a more lucrative embassy elsewhere. It is evident from the tone of his letter—and from others written long afterwards by his second wife—that, if he was difficult to coerce or to cajole, he was the sort of husband whom women love and honour. His first wife told his banker that she would " follow wherever her lord choosed—that death with him would be preferred to life without him elsewhere " ; and nearly thirty years after, his second wife, who had vexed her " dear lord " by sending an express for a physician to prescribe for his gout, assures her father that the reproof was not meant " unkindly, for *Heaven knows* he is really and truly *all tenderness and affection* for me—he would throw away twice on me." We know but little, and perhaps there is little to know about the first Marquis of Bute, but his wives, who could not have compared notes, testify in his favour. A letter written whilst he was envoy at Turin, affords us a peep of history in the making. It is dated Turin, October 9, 1782 :—

> " As I take for granted you receive earlier intelligence from Paris of what is going forward at Gibraltar than I can possibly send, I have not thought it worth while to transmit the Turin intelligence : permit me, however, to congratulate you on the late glorious event which

bids fair to put an end to the memorable siege, and crown General Elliot with immortal honours. You may not, perhaps, know that the Spanish Ministry have for once ventured to tell the whole truth to the King, who has sunk beneath it—though the communication may endanger their plans, they probably wish to act the part of true Patriots in conveying to the royal mind the absurdity and impractibility of pursuing an object that can only bring disgrace and poverty on the kingdom : on the other hand, the prevalence of French interest may have had some weight in the scale. France can no longer make a separate peace, and Gibraltar must be ever an insurmountable barrier, as long as the King of Spain persists in his resolution of continuing the attack. We have no account of what has passed subsequent to the destruction of the floating batteries, but we are told that the Comte d'Artois means soon to return—if so, it may fairly be asserted that the war is over. The Sardinian ambassador informs this Court that the fleets wait the arrival of Lord Howe in the Bay : a Cadiz merchant in a postscript to his correspondent there pretends they were there in sight of the port. I rather hope he mistook the English for the enemy. At the same time it must be acknowledged that 52 ships endeavouring to avoid an engagement with 34, brings as much disgrace on the one as it adds lustre to the other."

So wrote one representative of His Britannic Majesty to another in the " brave days of old."

XXVI

Thomas Coutts to the Cardinal of York.

STRAND, LONDON,
12th September, 1800.

Sir,

I have the honour to address your Eminence with notice of having received the second payment of two thousand pounds on the account of the King's allowance for which I gave a receipt as being for the half year ended the 5th of July 1800. Mr Sloane has sent me two

receipts of your Eminence's for five hundred pounds each. One thousand pounds, therefore, is remaining for future demands.

The next payment of two thousand pounds will in conformity with the past, become due the 5th of January 1801, but such sums are seldom ready for some time after. I shall not fail to make application in the proper place and to acquaint your Eminence as soon as I have succeeded and the money is paid.

I am, Sir, with very sincere respect
Your Eminence's most
Faithful and
Most obedient servant,
THOMAS COUTTS.

XXVII

Thomas Coutts to La Comtesse D'Albestroff.

30th December, 1800. In LONDON.

If you have not heard of it before you will be surprised, I believe, to hear of my daughter Fanny having been married the 17th of September to the Marquis of Bute. The match has been her own choice and fancy, entirely, and she continues to believe it will secure her happiness. If so I ought to be content, though I confess his age (56) appeared to me a great objection; and the marriage was by no means my choice or Mrs Coutts'. His Lordship is a well-bred and accomplished man, with good talents and many good and amiable qualities. He has also remarkable good health and looks younger than any of his brothers—even than the youngest, who was lately made Archbishop of Armagh, Metropolitan of Ireland.

I hope to hear of your enjoying your health and a Happy New Year, but alas! I see no end to this horrid war. I send this to Berne with orders to pay you 25 Guineas as before. Mrs Coutts and my daughters kindly embrace you as I do.

T. COUTTS.

CHAPTER XX

THE ROAD TO BRENTFORD

"B-D-TT carries the day!
'Ça Ira!' that's to say
'We'll out-do the French Jacobins in their own way.'"
A Folk-Song.

IT is unlikely that many letters passed between Thomas Coutts and Sir Francis Burdett. For many years they were next-door neighbours and the occasion would seldom arise, but if there was any correspondence it has not come under my notice. A number of letters from Lady Burdett to her father have been preserved, but with one or two remarkable exceptions they are of little or no interest. It is generally believed that Coutts paid his son-in-law's election bills, but with regard to the election of 1802 he expressly contradicts the rumour, nor is it at all probable that he ever consented to part with large sums of money to further a political campaign against the sentiments if not the interests of his "titled constituents." It was one thing to deplore the financial errors of the Tories and another to throw in his lot with the Jacobins and kill the goose which laid the golden eggs. Moreover he would do what he pleased with his money, and by no means regarded himself as a natural source of revenue, or invariable comer-to-the-rescue of his married daughters or their husbands.

There is no Life of Sir Francis Burdett. His daughters were more than once invited to supply materials for a biography, but invariably declined. For more than forty years he was before the curtain, and his record as a politician is to be found in newspapers, pamphlets, histories of the

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT
From a drawing by Adam Buck

elections of 1806, 1818, reports of speeches delivered at meetings at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, and in the hieroglyphics of perennial caricatures, but of the man himself and of his private life but little is known. He does not figure as largely as might be expected in the memoirs and diaries of the first half of the nineteenth century. He was not welcomed in ministerial circles. Fashionable society for a while ostracised him. Excellent and solemn personages like Sir Gilbert Elliot, Lord Auckland, Sir James Bland Burgess, whose little life was rounded by a little office, were unconcerned with his character and career.

In his *Memoirs of the Whig Party* Lord Holland does not even mention his name, doubtless for the excellent reason that he was not a Whig. Greville and Croker have but little to say about him till an errant and belated straggler he had found rest in the Tory sheepfold. The memoirs of his friend and mentor Horne Tooke, of his forerunner Major Cartwright, of his sometime friend, but first and last his enemy, William Cobbett, were published in his lifetime, and though they throw light on his history do not tell us how he struck these contemporaries. He is frequently mentioned, and almost invariably *honoris causâ*, in Byron's *Letters*, in *Coke of Norfolk and his Friends*, and in Lord Broughton's *Memorials of a Long Life*; but the pleasantest and most intimate delineation of the man himself is preserved in the *Memoirs of Lord Langdale* (Henry Bickersteth), by Thomas Duffus Hardy, which was published in 1852.

The impression conveyed by the family papers as a whole is that there was little love lost between the "eminent banker" and his son-in-law. Before there was any ground for serious displeasure, there was the little rift of distaste and disapproval. Coutts was a Scotchman and meant exactly what he said. Burdett forgot his engagements and excused himself lightly but lamely, and for this there was no place of repentance. Of the beginning or progress of his notorious *amour* with Lady Oxford there is probably

no record, but in Gillray's famous caricature of the "New Morality," August 7, 1798, Burdett bears a handbill inscribed, "Glorious acquittal. O'Connor. Dedicated to Lady Oxford"; and from the first breath of scandal to the final exposure in the Scottish Law Courts in 1811, it must have been impossible for the father to overlook or forgive a wrong which the daughter suffered and forgave. He has been dead these sixty years and more, but he has kept a place in the short-lived memory of the public, not because he was one of the Makers of England of to-day, building better than he knew, but because he was the last political prisoner to be committed to the Tower.[1] To blameless mid-Victorians it was, as it were, an echo of history.

Francis Burdett, born January 28, 1770, was the eldest son of Francis Burdett, born May 19, 1743, and grandson of Sir Robert Burdett, Bart. of Foremark in the County of Derby. The Derbyshire property and the forename Francis came to the Burdetts by a marriage with the heiress of a certain William Frauncys of Foremark in 1602. Francis the elder married (Dec. 30, 1766) Eleanor, daughter and co-heir of William Jones of Ramsbury near Hungerford in Wiltshire. The next year Eleanor's sister and co-heir married William Langham, a grandson of Sir John Langham of Cottesbrook Park, who took the name and arms of Jones, and in 1774 was created a baronet. Mrs Burdett died in 1783, when her son, Sir Francis that was to be, was in his fourteenth year; but the childless Lady Jones, who had inherited Ramsbury Manor from her father, seems to have taken her place in the upbringing of the Burdett children. It was to this *tante à l'héritage* that Francis Burdett addressed a few and somewhat perfunctory letters when he was making the grand tour in 1789–1791. His first letter is dated Paris, April 17, 1789.

[1] Thistlewood and the other Cato Street conspirators, who were imprisoned in the Tower in 1820, hardly deserve the name of "political prisoners."

A year later, when Wordsworth passed that way, the "silent Zephyrs sported with the dust of the Bastille," but in April 1789 the clock had not struck. Burdett speaks freely of pre-revolutionary Paris: "Such a mixture of pomp and beggary, a filth and magnificence as may be truly said to beggar all description. Suffice to say, it is the most ill-conditioned, ill-built, dirty, stinking Town that can possibly be imagined; as for the inhabitants, they are ten times more nasty than the inhabitants of Edinburgh." By way of consolation he had been once asked to dine with the Duke of Dorset (the English Ambassador), "who was vastly polite to me and he honoured us with another invitation." Can it have been at one or other of these dinners or at her father's house in the Rue de l'Université that Francis Burdett first met Sophia Coutts, then a girl of fourteen? She had been received at the Embassy when first she came to Paris in 1788, and at the time the gossips were hinting that Mr Coutts was trying to catch the Duke, who was still a bachelor, for his elder daughter Susan. There is no evidence that a meeting took place, but the time and place and the fashion of the time and place justify the guess.

In his next despatch, dated Vevay, September 1789, coming events cast their shadows before, and it is the shadows which darken the horizon. He is neither enchanted nor deceived by the mirage of Liberty.

VEVAY, 1789.
September ?
P.M. *Oct.* 21, 1789.

TO LADY JONES.

I am glad Mr Langham's situation agrees with him so well, and as he has no party to side with in the troubles, I have no doubt but he remains very peacibly (*sic*), as several people whom I know do in the midst of the riots at Paris: he must take care to dress very shabbily lest they should take him for a French nobleman and then they will hang him without giving him time to pray, especially if he falls into the hands of those Amazons who have

thrown aside the delicacy of their sex and taken an active part in the turmoils of their Country.

For Switzerland he refers his aunt to the pages of Cox and Moore. In Florence he finds nothing remarkable, and with the palaces of Genoa he is disappointed; but Venice, where he stayed six weeks, meets with his approval. His last letter is dated Vienna, January 22, 1791. Its tone and sentiments are not revolutionary.

VIENNE. *Jany.* 22, 1791.

Your pleasing account of my Uncle's health [1] gives a higher relish to the amusements of this place, which are indeed pretty numerous, although I thought it a little too formal at first, now I get more familiar in society I find it by far the pleasantest place I ever was at. It is about three weeks since I was introduced to the Emperor [Leopold II.] in company with a Sir John Macpherson. The Emperor honoured us with a very marked and particular attention, talking to us near an hour uninterruptedly. We were also presented to the Empress, the Archduke, and 22 (?) of the Family. I have been at one ball in the Court, and go to-night to another. In short, not a night passes without balls or assemblies at the houses of the different ambassadors. The Prince Howitz also has his house constantly open, and takes it kind if he sees you often. I go commonly three or four times a week to pay my respects to the old Prince, who honours me with frequent invitations to his table, so have not the smallest occasion for more letters of recommendation.

Lord Langdale says that "he witnessed . . . the early part of the French Revolution," and that he returned to England in 1793. He was certainly in England in July and also in November 1791, and there is no record of a second tour on the Continent. He was married to Sophia Coutts, August 3, 1793, and as has been already told the

[1] Sir William Jones died May 3, 1791.

first months of his marriage were darkened by the melancholy fate of his younger brother, Charles Sedley Burdett.

According to a memorandum in Thomas Coutts' handwriting, dated Feb. 1, 1795, he gave his youngest daughter a marriage portion of £25,000. The death of his father, Feb. 3, 1794, and of his grandfather, Feb. 17, 1797, must have put him in possession of a considerable income from landed property, but it was not till the death of his aunt, Lady Jones, in 1800, that he inherited Ramsbury Manor and a moiety of the Ramsbury estate. At this period his estates (including the property bequeathed to or settled upon his brother Sedley) brought in a net income of £7000 a year.

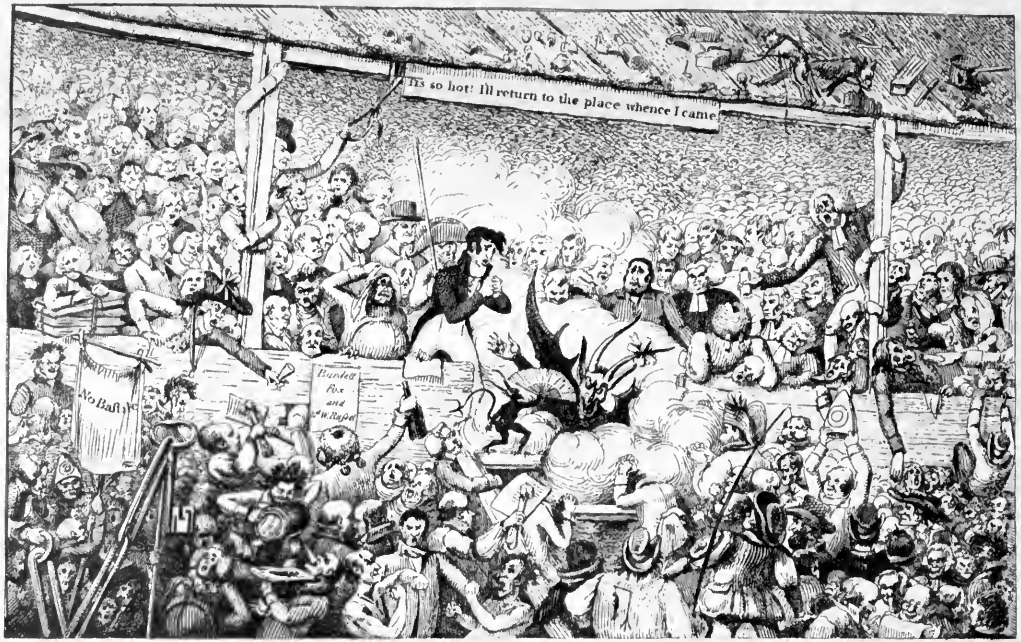
Of the first three years of his married life there is no record, save that within this period a daughter and a son were born to him. In 1795 he took a lease of Lord Fitzwilliam's house, No. 1 Stratton Street, and, for a while, shared his home with Thomas Coutts and his family. Afterwards he occupied No. 78 Piccadilly, which belonged to Coutts, and purchased a country villa at Wimbledon. At Wimbledon he lived but a stone's-throw from his friend and preceptor, John Horne Tooke, who is said to have read the Classics to him, and from whom he certainly derived his opinions on religion and politics. It was this enthusiastic and discipular attachment to a scholar, who, with whatever limitations, thought for himself, which equipped Burdett for the great task which lay before him, the political education of his countrymen. Horne Tooke indoctrinated him with a pedantic and half-mystical faith in those "blessed words," Magna Charta and the "Constitution," but on the one hand he kept him immune from the "Frenchified Slaver and Slang"[1] of the Opposition, and, on the other, he armed him against the seductions of the Whigs. It was only a demagogue who was not a democrat who could have begun to revolutionise England without a revolution.

[1] "A Character," by S. T. Coleridge, lines 67, 68.

Horne Tooke's Scottish biographer, Alexander Stephens, says that he "acted the part by him (Burdett) that Socrates had done by Alcibiades." Comparisons are odious, and historical parallels are vain, but Sir F. Burdett did certainly possess that "general charm" which Byron attributed to Alcibiades.

In 1796, on the nomination of the Duke of Newcastle he was elected member for Boroughbridge in Yorkshire, a village of about eight hundred inhabitants, which returned two members to Parliament. Burdett's colleague was John Scott, afterwards Lord Eldon. Whatever may have been the desire or intention of his patron's guardians, the nominee took his own line from the first as a prominent member of the left wing of the Opposition, and thenceforward, for the greater part of his life, was looked up to, or looked down upon as a formidable if somewhat irresponsible tribune of the plebs.

For instance, on April 12, 1802, when the Parliament of 1796 was drawing to a close, he moved for an inquiry into the conduct of Pitt's administration. "He considered that this was the time to examine the accounts of blood and treason so wantonly lavished during the late war. It was a time to examine what was the object of it. . . . It appeared to him to have been a war against the liberties, proprieties, laws, constitution, manners, customs, habits and character of the English nation," etc.—a way of putting it which Pitt's relative Lord Temple considered as "much better calculated for a tavern audience" than for the House of Commons. Parliament was dissolved on June 28, and on July 15 Burdett began his sixteen days' candidature for the representation of Middlesex. This was a direct appeal to a section or fraction of the English nation, or to a "tavern audience," as superior persons secretly or openly maintained. As it turned out, the free and independent electors of Brentford behaved as badly as superior persons could have prophesied or hoped. The "humour of the



"THE SCUM UPPERMOST, WHEN THE MIDDLESEX PORRITCH-POT BOILS OVER"

election," [1] such as the flying of flags with revolutionary emblems, and "No Bastile," or the *tableau vivant* of a prisoner loaded with chains and shrinking from the jailer's lash, could do but little harm unless the cap fitted, when they might do good; but the bribery, the drunkenness, the menace and personal violence offered to the Tory candidate, a banker named Mainwaring, were enough to give and probably gave another thirty years of rottenness to Gatton or Old Sarum. On the 29th Burdett was elected second on the poll with a majority of 271 votes over Mainwaring. He was carried shoulder high, by his supporters, to the palace of his sovereign (presumably Kew), "before the gates of which" the band played *Ça Ira*. It is no wonder that the Foreign Secretary pounced upon Coutts as the aider and abetter of sedition, and withdrew "the office," that is the secret-service money, from the bank, or that Coutts was alarmed and provoked into a somewhat petulant and undignified expostulation.

"Frantic disturbers" (never was there a neater anagram) are uncomfortable sons-in-law for a keeper of the king's purse. As it turned out, the election had been won by the sudden and highly questionable creation of nearly four hundred voters, and in July 1804, after a long controversy, Burdett was unseated. In August there was another election, and this time Mainwaring won by five votes. In 1805 Burdett

[1] The Middlesex election made excellent copy for the composers of "filthy Ballets." "The Scum uppermost when the Middlesex Porridge-Pot boils over" is written up to a woodcut representing Burdett, Fox, Lord W. Russell, the butchers with their cleavers and aprons, and the Devil disgusted because the road to Brentford was too hot for him.

The Devil has the last word :—

"Brave BT—TT adieu! you've blown up a fine flame :
'Tis so hot, I'll return to the place whence I came,
And tell my grim Quorum,
With how much decorum
Your tag-rags of Middlesex drive all before 'em—
'Twill be long ere my Black-birds attain such perfection,
What's Hell when compar'd with your BRENTFORD ELECTION!"

was again returned for Middlesex, and, again, in February 1806 he was again unseated on petition. The cost of the elections and of fighting the petitions was enormous, but Burdett owned many and vast estates, and, as Coutts was careful to note, if money from time to time was advanced to him it was money due to him under settlements on his wife. The naïf admission that though he hated the election, and disapproved of mob politics, he did canvass a little, and was guilty of securing twelve votes for his son-in-law, "to please the ladies," proves that he had travelled on the "road to Brentford"—an indiscretion which was bound to be reported, and to awaken suspicion in the official mind. But it is not true that Coutts advanced £100,000 to Sir Francis Burdett, to fight elections with; and if, as the story goes, Queen Charlotte threatened to withdraw her account, she thought better of it and repented before it was too late.

Most of the letters of this period which have been preserved refer to the Middlesex Election, and to the withdrawal from the bank of the payment made on account of secret-service money. The over-zealous official who interpreted his duties in the light of his prejudices was Robert Bankes, second Earl of Liverpool, who at that time bore the courtesy title of Lord Hawkesbury. A year later he was created Baron Hawkesbury in his own right.

At the end of 1802 or the beginning of 1803 the aged Comtesse d'Albestroff, the Clementina Walkinshaw of one poor torn page of history, died in poverty and exile at Fribourg. For the rest of his life the Cardinal Duke might enjoy his own pension without being reminded of the "hundred pence" which his niece the Duchess of Albany had left him on trust for her mother. Coutts sent her twenty-five guineas on November 16, 1802, and, shortly afterwards, he must have received an acknowledgment of this and other sums—the little slip of paper signed R., which purports to be in the handwriting of her grandson, presumably Charles Edward Stuart, Count

Roehenstart. The facsimile of this mysterious fragment will interest those who are interested in the legends of the more ambiguous Stuarts.

Correspondence

March 31, 1801, *to December* 23, 1802

I

Thomas Coutts to the Countess of Chatham.

Strand, 31*st March*, 1801.

Dear Madam,

I have many thanks to return to Lady Chatham, as well as to you, for your obliging letter received to-day, and I am sincerely glad to find so good an account of her Ladyship's health.

I had the pleasure of seeing Lord and Lady Chatham, and also Mr Pitt, two or three days ago, and of seeing all in good health. I hope Mr Pitt will have a little time now to spare to his family, and to attend to his own health, *while he is out of* office, and I should think the Bath waters would be very useful and salutary after so much harassment as he has undergone.

I understand it is expected an army will have gone from Bombay by the Red Sea to Suez, to co-operate with Sir Ralph Abercromby: if we should be fortunate in that quarter and succeed in the Baltic, peace may follow on better terms than it now could be made. These two points are now looked to with great anxiety.

I am much obliged to Lady Chatham for her good wishes respecting Lady Guilford. I am just going to the christening of her son, who as well as herself is in as good health as possible, but rather clouded by Lord Guilford's situation, which is again become precarious at least, if not dangerous.

Believe me, dear Madam, [&c. &c.],

Thomas Coutts.

I am very sorry to hear Lady Hester Stanhope has not received all the benefit at Bath that could be wished.

May I beg to present my compliments to Her Ladyship.

II

Thomas Coutts to the Earl of Chichester.

STRAND, 10*th September*, 1801.

MY LORD,

I know not whether your Lordship may ever have heard of such a name as the Count Zenobio[1] of Venice. I received much civility from him abroad, and was at two or three houses of his in the Tyrol, where I was entertained with much hospitality. He was a noble Venetian and very rich.

He was several years in England and got a propensity to politics that has been very injurious to him in many respects. He has at last saved some money from the débris of Venice, and finding himself obnoxious in England as well as in other countries by having very foolishly written books, and been too busy with politics, in which he could have no concern, he at last grew quite disgusted and determined on quitting Europe for ever and embarking with the remains of his fortune for America. I dissuaded him from it and observed to him that I had never known anyone go to America that did not repent and return, but he persisted and desired me to apply for leave to land in England and embark for America. This was granted, but in the meanwhile he determined to take his leave of Italy. He went there accordingly, and on his return wrote me the inclosed letter from Francfort which I received yesterday. I have sent a copy along with it as his hand writing is not very legible.

I hope your Lordship will have the goodness to pardon

[1] According to the *Annual Register* a Count Zenobio died in Duke Street, St James's, 14th January 1818, aged fifty-five years. He is described as "descended from the first family among the noblesse in Europe. As a man of fashion and gallantry he took the lead at Versailles when under the ancient régime."

the liberty I have taken in giving you so much trouble. I wish to give my testimony, so far as I ever knew this gentleman, that he never meant any harm and that he is in no shape dangerous or capable of being so.

I know he has been suspected of Jacobinical principles, but indeed I believe it was from his turn for political discussions and argument having led him into bad company.

I certainly will be pleased if on enquiry your Lordship should find it not improper to allow him to reside in England, at Buxton, or anywhere for the recovery of his health. At the same time I have no sort of interest in the matter but that of humanity, and certainly your Lordship must be the best judge, though I am confident he is quite harmless and would not recommend him if I had the smallest suspicion that he might be otherwise. He has suffered severely by having meddled with politics and political opinions, and only I think wishes now for peace and retirement in this country.

I shall at your Lordship's leisure be much obliged to you to let me know if he can leave or not.

I am with sincere respect, My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,
THOMAS COUTTS.

Enclosure. Count Zenobio to Thomas Coutts.

FRANCFORT, *28th August*, 1801.

DEAR SIR,

[Has just returned from Italy, which has become distasteful to him not only on account of his private losses, but on account of the present sad position of his sister's family, "now reduced to poverty and servitude."] "I wish only for an asylum where Freedom and Morality are not yet banished, and the only country in Europe is England. Besides, I should wish to drink the waters either at Bath or Buxton, preferring the latter as more removed from bustle." His application runs as follows: "That I be permitted in the course of Sept. or Oct. to land either at Gravesend or Yarmouth, as circumstances will permit, and from thence to proceed without touching London, to

Buxton in Derbyshire, and to remain at least six months in England in some place, not less than 100 miles distant from London, or any seaport town, being at liberty afterwards to return on the continent, but on condition not to go to France or Holland during the war." [He assures T. Coutts that the privilege shall not be abused.]

III

Thomas Coutts to La Comtesse d'Albestroff

New Year's Day, 1802.

I take the opportunity of enquiring after your health, and wishing sincerely this New Year may prove more fortunate than the last. In a letter you did me the favour to write some months ago you mentioned having heard the Cardinal had refused the bounty of England. You may be assured you have been misinformed and that his Eminence has received it regularly, at two payments in the year, each of them two thousand pounds. He is always solicitous to have it, and, I believe, his agent Mr Sloane at Rome sometimes has advanced the money by anticipation. I receive it here, and am now assured of receiving £2000 in a few days.—The period of payment being the 5th of this month. He might surely out of such a sum pay your pittance 1500 Livres—which you inform me, he reduces to 500 Livres, and even that trifle, perhaps, does not pay punctually. His conduct is shameful and cruel.

Mrs Coutts and my three daughters join with me in kindest wishes. I have now seven grandchildren—by Lady Guilford one son, two daughters; Lady Bute, one daughter; Lady Burdett one son, two daughters. I should be happy to show them all to you.

My correspondent at Berne will send with this the value of Twenty Five Guineas. I hope that small matter may be of some use.

Believe me, my dear Madam,
Your ever faithful servant,
T. Coutts.

Mr Erskine is at Paris on his return to Rome from this country. He is to be a Cardinal and Auditor of the Pope. I hope he may be of use to get justice done you.

IV

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

[Dropmore MSS. Vol. VII.]

1802, *July* 12. STOWE.

The letter which I enclose to you from Coutts will explain itself; be so good as to return it to me. I have written to assure him, with Lord Buckingham's concurrence, that neither of us are likely to attribute bad principles to him because he got ten or twelve votes for his daughter's husband; I have told him that though I should not have voted for Sir F. Burdett, I thought it very natural that he should, particularly with the motives which he describes for his wishing to see Sir Francis in Parliament. Lord Buckingham will write him a word, and it would be kind to him if you would do so too. I think it is childish in Lord Hawkesbury to have taken this step; Coutts is no Jacobin, but if the Government announce him as such, they do all that in them is to make him so; he is not young, and he is sick, and he is very susceptible upon these subjects, so that a kind word from you will do him good. . . .

V

Thomas Coutts to the Right Honourable William Pitt.

STRATTON STREET,
22nd July, 1802.

SIR,

I have been two days very ill in bed, and being rather better to-day I was going to pass some days with Lady Guilford at Petersham, but put it off till to-morrow on account of the bad weather. Meanwhile they send me disagreeable news from the Strand that Lord Hawkes-

bury has ordered the balances of two public accounts he has kept at my House to be sent to another. They suppose this to be on account of my connection with Sir Francis Burdett. I cannot help Sir Francis being my son-in-law, and though in other matters I have found him an honourable and sensible man, it is well known to all my friends I never approved of his public proceedings; and as to the election, it is so disagreeable to me that it has in some measure occasioned my illness. Unfortunately, Sir Francis's house being next door to me, I believe makes it supposed I take much interest in the election, which from the beginning I disapproved of in the strongest manner; but I had no control over him, to prevent his engaging in it. I never in my life had any concern whatever in such matters, and for a quiet man like me to suffer in my honour and character by no fault of my own is what I am confident Lord Hawkesbury would not consent to, did he know my feelings and the true state of my case.

It is in your power I think to shield me from this injury. It is not alone the loss to my House of these individual accounts, but the injury spreads far and wide, and it is not possible to say what it may do.

No time is to be lost if you can protect me on this occasion.

I am, Sir,
Your most faithful humble servant,
THOMAS COUTTS.

I do not intend to vote myself at Brentford, but I could not oppose Sir Francis, or avoid thanking those who came to me offering to vote for him.

VI

Thomas Coutts to [?] *the Earl of Chatham.*

23rd July, 1802.

MY LORD,

I am so ill I can hardly write and am going to Lady Guilford at Petersham, in hopes of country air and quiet being of service to me.

I suppose it is too late to get any alteration in what Lord Hawkesbury has done from misapprehension—my character, sentiments and wishes being unknown to him—he supposing me an approver and supporter of Sir Francis Burdett's conduct, which he little thinks has been the cause of much uneasiness.

I have not voted at Brentford nor mean to do it, but I could not appear against him or refuse to him the little aid I have, without making my poor daughter miserable by quarrelling with him.

I hope your Lordship and Mr Pitt, who have long known me, will support my character and honour on this occasion.

I am, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful servant,
THOMAS COUTTS.

VII

Thomas Coutts to the Right Honourable William Pitt.

PETERSHAM,
25th July, 1802.

SIR,

In case you are so kind to take any notice of the hardship with which I cannot help thinking I have been very undeservedly treated at this time, I beg leave to state to you that some time ago my family having some suspicion of Sir Francis Burdett transferring his fortune and residence to some foreign country, which made us all very unhappy, I endeavoured to encourage by any means in my power his continuing in Parliament, as the most likely way of preventing a measure which struck so deep at our comfort, by removing from our society my daughter and her lovely children, at the very moment when we were suffering by the recent loss of Lord Guilford.

We were all in good hope (as he is by no means void of talent and understanding) that time would give moderation to his opinions and conduct, and that his associates,

who we considered (though totally unacquainted with them) as very bad society, would by and by appear to him in the light they are seen by other men of sense and experience, so that he would of himself withdraw from such connections. My endeavours, however, proved vain, for he repeatedly told me he was positively determined to be in Parliament no more. To my knowledge seats, by purchase and in various modes, were offered to him, but he declined them all. I had, therefore, quite given up the point, when he came to me one morning, and surprised me much by saying he was to stand for Middlesex. He did not consult me, for this unexpected communication was made to me on the morning of the day it appeared in all the newspapers. I was truly sorry for it, not because I conceived it would be obnoxious to Government, which never occurred to me as being worth their attention (neither for the first week did I ever hear they took any part or troubled themselves about it), but because it appeared that the expense must be *great* and *certain*, and the success at least very doubtful. I never intended *myself* to take any part, or ever dreamt of my having any influence ; and as to voting myself, I neither intended it nor have I voted or mean to do so. But, on the commencement, various people of various ranks came to ask my wishes about it ; to which I answered " that I must, naturally, wish well to so near a connection." And, indeed, I very much wished it, for the same reason that I had before so much endeavoured to induce him to come in, in a quiet way. I made some efforts to get him votes after this, when it was pointed out to me where I might hope to succeed, but certainly with no great degree of animation or success. It was a scene I had never been acquainted with, and for which I really felt great detestation, and if I got him a dozen votes I believe if will be found the outside of the issue of my exertions which have been blazoned forth as of so much consequence, that I have heard it was even supposed by Government that Sir Francis must have given up the contest long ago but for my support. Nothing can be further from the truth, and it is well known by those near me that on the second day, and every day since, I have always said the

500 majority must be decisive of the ultimate fate of the election, and that it was absurd to go on and could answer no good purpose,—was very expensive and might endanger the quiet and good order of the metropolis and its environs, which it was as much my interest as any man's, and still more my inclination to maintain. Had I actually been one of His Majesty's Ministers, I do not see how I could have acted otherwise towards my daughter's husband, living with her, and she and her mother and sisters in the most affectionate style surrounding me. And, surely, it must arise from these gentlemen having been misled by some very false impressions of my conduct, that they have taken such unprecedented steps against me, which I do not think would have been taken against any man for such a reason under your Administration. They are very much mistaken indeed if they considered me an enemy to them, and, still more, if they considered me as a man of any dangerous principles—which I am sure the few that know me, and those who know me the most, will be most ready to contradict. Indeed I do not believe my enemies, if I have any, have ever ascribed any such opinions or conduct to me.

Sir Francis's house, which I bought and let to him with a very innocent view of keeping him from emigration, and to have my daughter and grandchildren close to me—being at next door—I believe has favoured the idea of my taking a violent part. It is possible, too, as I have been told, that envious and malicious people have forwarded it for their own interested views, and the Council and Committee of Sir Francis, none of whom I either know or ever will have any intercourse with, may have taken unwarrantable liberties with my name. In every view of it I hope you will think I have been cruelly treated. Heaven knows except for the reason I have given I do not care a straw for the event of the election, nor did I ever, unless for private affection, ever take any part in my life in anything of the kind. I hope, Sir, you will be satisfied of the honest truth of all I have stated, and with the kindness you have often shown me, shield me from further injury. I have been obliged to leave Town on account of great indisposition,

and it is with difficulty I have written this or can assure you of the sincere respect with which I remain, Sir,

Your faithful humble servant,

THOMAS COUTTS.

To the Strand, *private*, will be my best direction if you are so good to write to me.

[*Vol.* 102, *Chatham MSS. Letters of W. Pitt, Jnr.*]

Answer to Mr Coutts.

WALMER CASTLE.
July 24th, 1802.

Recd his of 22d yesterday, and on road, one from Ld C.—Till then was unacquainted with step Ld H. had taken, and know nothing of motives to it. It gives me great concern, &c., &c.; but it seems impossible the step should now be recalled, and I must also own that independent of difficulty I should feel in urging any wish on such a subject, I cannot say that the circumstances as he has stated them would justify to me my own hand? power? in doing so on this occasion.

(*Enclosure.*)

Note on Mr Pitt's Draft to Mr Thomas Coutts, July 24, 1802.

Lord H. was, I conceive, Lord Hawkesbury, and Lord C. Lord Chatham, and the transaction seems to be the same as is referred to in a passage as follows from Mr Fox's letters:

To the Earl of Lauderdale,

July 28th, 1802.

". . . I advised Burdett to give up. . . . I have just learned that they have taken away the business of some of the Offices from Coutts and that it is expected some great individuals will do the same."

VIII

Thomas Coutts to Patrick Home.

[*Aug.* 18*th*, 1802.]
Wednesday.

My Dear Sir,

I am unhappy to see you uneasy—and wish very much you should not give way to what may grow to make you more and more unhappy.

This Dream of Life—This Miserable Songe—is not worth being uneasy about. I struggle through it and wish you to do the same. Pray let Mrs Coutts and me, who are your sincere friends, come and dine with you in Gower Street and first come to us to morrow. You shall have any body or nobody as you please.

God bless you, Adieu,
T. Coutts.

IX

Thomas Coutts to Patrick Home.

Stratton Street,
19*th August*, 1802.

My Dear Sir,

I have been living near a month at a house you was once well acquainted with, when it belonged to Sir James Cockburn, at Petersham. It now belongs to Lord Bute who has lent it to Lady Guilford: I had been very ill and confined to bed and I was in that state by my earnest request carried there.—By good nursing I have got better, and coming to town the other day, Mrs Coutts, Lady Guilford and myself, we saw you walking along at Hyde Park Corner.—I would have stopped but that I was fearful of distressing you, for it is long since I have seen you and did not know whether you was at present in England.—

You looked, we thought, very well—and poor Mrs Coutts was ready to cry remembering former days—and former friends—all gone and passed away like a dream.—

Lady Guilford is gone to Luton for a day or two to see her dear sister, and when she returns, goes to Eastbourne, for her children's health—and we mean to follow her there very soon if possible.

During my illness Piccadilly has been in a continual mob with my son-in-law's election. Fortunately it has not produced the mischief that seemed almost unavoidable. At least I have heard of nobody having been even hurt. Government took no part the first week—and when the question was between two individuals—it was very natural for me to prefer my daughter's husband to a stranger, but when I found it was considered an object to Government I desisted, and, indeed, I was so very ill I was not able to act—yet envy and malice has been attacking me by every possible means in newspapers and reviews etc. representing me as a Jacobin—supporting men of principles of known hostility to the King, the Constitution and Government of the country, aiding them with money to any extent.—Believe me when I tell you on my honour, the very contrary of all this is the truth.—I hold all Jacobinical principles in abhorrence—so far from holding any correspondence or society with the men alluded to I do not even know them by sight. No man is more sincerely and firmly attached to the King and Constitution than I am—or can be more inclined or interested in maintaining good order; and, as to money I never either did or ever will advance any or ever was asked to do so, for this election or any political purpose. Neither does Sir Francis Burdett owe me a shilling or ever did borrow from me any money in the whole course of my acquaintance with him,—nor did he ever ask any from me—neither (for anything I ever knew of his affairs) have I any reason to believe he stood in need of it.

You used to write to me sometimes. Pray continue me the pleasure of now and then seeing your hand and conversing in that way, since you will not do it in any

other, for I am with unfeigned regard and ever shall be most faithfully yours,

T. COUTTS.

X

Thomas Coutts to the Right Honourable William Pitt.

LUTON PARK.
6th September, 1802.

SIR,

However impossible I think it is that any person of my station and situation could have been considered as I have been, had you, Sir, still have held the reins of Government, I am truly sorry on reflection that I ever troubled you or my other friends on the subject; or degraded myself by complaining: and I am most sincerely sorry to find a further apology necessary from me for Mr Coutts Trotter's having addressed you on the measures Mr Bragge has thought it proper to point against me, which I hope you will forgive, and impute it to his anxiety in the absence of his two senior partners in the House.

Many of my friends whose disapprobation of Sir Francis Burdett's political opinions and proceedings are as great as mine, or any man's can be, have yet blamed me exceedingly for not having actively supported him in his election. And I am told his Jacobinical connections (as they are called) detest me as sincerely as I have always done them; so that the crime of my being his father-in-law gets me almost universal reprobation. Little as I have been used to this, for above half a century from the circle in which I have been known, I have still the consolation of good intentions, and I am persuaded time would have worked out my vindication more quickly if I had never spoken or written a word in my defence, and that Government having done all in their power to injure me, would no longer honour me with their notice, or if they did would perhaps see that I had been hardly used, and that I have always been much more disposed

to promote order and quiet than many who they acknowledge as their friends, and reward with favours which I do not even wish to receive.

I have the honour to be, with sincere respect, Sir,
Your most obedient and faithful servant,
THOMAS COUTTS.

I was very happy to hear better accounts since I came here of Lady Chatham's health, but she seems uneasy at the Grant beginning to get again into arrear, which I only mention in case you should think it proper to remonstrate upon it to Mr Waddington. Her Ladyship is pleased to express herself with great kindness of me and my children, which is very gratifying to me from so old a friend.

XI

Thomas Coutts to La Comtesse d'Albestroff.

LONDON *November 16th*, 1802.

MY DEAR MADAM,

Monsignore Erskine being now at Rome and a Cardinal I hope he may be of some use in your affair with the Duke of York there.

Mr Constant has sent me your letter and I wish it were in my power to be useful to him or any friend of yours. All my daughters with Mrs Coutts send you their best wishes and will be happy to hear of your health.

I send this to the banker at Berne who with it will deliver the value of 25 Guineas. I very much wish it may prove of any use.

The Cardinal Duke must have outlived all sense of shame.

Believe me, my dear Madam,
Your most faithful and obedt. servant,
T. COUTTS.

Note.—Money generously sent by Thomas Coutts Esqre. to my poor Grand Mother, the Countess of Albestroff.—

Note.

Money generously sent by Thomas Coutts Esq.re to my poor Grand-Mother, the Countess of Albestroff. —

1795 – August the 10.th, for the first time, Twenty five Guineas	——	25 G.s "
d.o November the 9.th	——	25 — "
1796 4.th August	——	25 — "
1797 September the 24.th	——	25 — "
1799 January 15	——	25 — "
d.o December 26	——	25 — "
1800 July 15	——	25 — "
d.o December 30	——	25 — "
1802 – 1.st January	——	25 — "
d.o November 16	——	25 — "
		250 G.s "

£ 262 – 10 Sh.s Which amount my strongest desire is to repay. ——

I have however every reason to believe that more money has been paid to my grand-mother — and I hope, one day to come, to be able to know and settle the whole.

RB

FACSIMILE OF THE HANDWRITING OF THE COUNT ROEHENSTART

1795—August the 10th, for the first time, Twenty five Guineas	25	Gs.
do. November the 9th	25	,,
1796 4th August	25	,,
1797 September the 24th	25	,,
1799 January 15	25	,,
do. December 26	25	,,
1800 July 15	25	,,
do. December 30	25	,,
1802 1st January	25	,,
do. November 16	25	,,
	250	Gs.

£262. 10shs. Which amount my strongest desire is to repay.

I have however every reason to believe that more money has been paid to my grand-mother—and I hope, one day to come, to be able to know and settle the whole.

R.

XII

Thomas Coutts to Colonel Ross.

CLIFTON, BRISTOL.
23d December, 1802.

MY DEAR SIR,

A relation and a very old friend of mine formerly in the army but who has retired many years to a little family estate in Ayrshire, has a daughter married to a Lieutenant Hall, an officer who had served in the East Indies and happened to be at Ayr with his regiment. He is a young man of excellent character, and many acquirements—particularly is a good pen-and-ink man. The Duke of York at my desire was so good to promote him to a company in the Cape Regiment, and since upon its being reduced to be Captain in the 60th, but his health which was materially injured in India has lately been so bad he has not been able to join, and he had,

last month, six months leave of absence on the remonstrance of medical men who thought that time at least needful to recover him. In this situation he is very desirous of being appointed Paymaster of a District in Ireland, and the Duke of York I am sure will very readily give any facility to it in his power. Therefore if you will have the goodness to write to Sir Richard Littlehales, the Secretary at War in Ireland, to ask the situation for him, I should not have much doubt of its being obtained, when any vacancy offered.

If you can oblige me in this matter which I have very much at heart, I shall consider it a great favour.

I have been here for some time with Lady Guilford, and as her children are vastly well, and like the situation, she seems much inclined to stay all the winter, but Mrs Coutts must soon go to town to attend Lady Bute's lying in, and as my stay may therefore be uncertain, I shall beg of you to direct your answer to me in the Strand, 'Private.'

I am, my dear Sir, with great regard,
Your most obedient and faithful humble servant,
THOMAS COUTTS.

These Paymasters are taken from the Captains on half pay, which Mr Hall would resort to if he can be nominated to the other, or he might exchange if required. Hs.Rl.Hs. wrote me it was not in his Department but he would be very ready to give any aid that depended on him officially. He has been very kind indeed throughout.

CHAPTER XXI

THOMAS COUTTS AND THE DUKE OF KENT

"My duty cannot be silent, when I think your Highness is wronged."
King Lear, I. iv.

IN a letter to the Duchess of Devonshire, dated 1789, to solicit her interest with the Prince of Wales, Coutts tells her that he had been banker to her father and grandfather. Frederick, Prince of Wales, died in 1751 and it is next to impossible that Tom Coutts, then a boy of sixteen, could have had any dealings or connection with the Royal Family, but it is highly probable that through the influence of the Earl of Bute the firm of Middleton & Campbell, afterwards Campbell & Coutts, were bankers to the Prince and Princess of Wales. It is certain that on his accession to the throne George the Third appointed James and Thomas Coutts bankers to the Privy Purse. Of how much or how little the younger brother was brought into personal relationship with the king we naturally have no detailed knowledge. The king's account in days when the " King's Friends " were a party and a power in the State might cast a lurid light on some dark corners of history and biography, if, indeed, it was ever kept in any " questionable shape," but for the inviolable secrecy of so august a reckoning there is no Statute of Limitation.

We are not told in so many words that Coutts' prolonged sojourn on the Continent in 1788-89 was determined by questions of high finance (though his intimacy with the Controller-general, Calonne, may be so accounted for), but it may be taken for granted that a great banker does

not entrust the conduct of his business to the discretion of his partners for many months at a time, for the sole purpose of superintending the education of his daughters, or to enable him to take a tour in foreign parts. We have evidence of the fact (*vide ante*, vol. i., p. 270) that before and after he returned he was sent for by the king and entrusted with an informal commission of a delicate and peculiar character. The Young Pretender died in 1788, and Henry Benedict Stuart, Cardinal of York and Bishop of Frascati, after a visionary sort reigned in his stead. King George wished his shadowy rival no evil, and was anxious to hear from a trustworthy source what manner of man he was and whether he regarded the monarch *de facto* as a possible friend or his natural enemy. He seems to have suggested to his banker to pay his respects to the Cardinal, and to intimate so far as was possible that the Majesty of Great Britain was not ill-disposed towards the Majesty of Frascati. It was an unique and most honourable embassage, and it appears to have touched the envoy extraordinary on the romantic, one might say the fantastic side of his nature. He enjoyed the situation, and it was the faculty of conceiving and playing a part in the lives and fortunes of great personages which made a great moneylender the counsellor and friend of princes and potentates. No doubt he was useful, perhaps indispensable, to his royal clients, but he was also agreeable to them apart from business. They honoured and courted him because they liked him, and more than their obligations required or demanded. The royal princes, sooner or later after they came of age, were granted parliamentary allowances, banked with Coutts as a matter of course. From George, Prince of Wales, to Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge, the royal brothers were all, at one time or another, on the books of the firm. On one occasion the Duke of Cumberland withdrew his account, and once, long afterwards, the Duke of Sussex left or essayed to leave the House in the Strand

for "fresh woods and pastures new," but, for the more part, there was a handsome accommodation on the one side and a dignified submission to terms on the other. For figures, unlike "Nice customs," but stiffly "curtsey to great kings," and an overdraft is an overdraft in the pass-book of the most illustrious client. It does not appear that Coutts had much to do with the Duke of Cambridge. Perhaps he was a better man of business than his elder brothers, or, possibly, kept another account elsewhere; but with the Dukes of York and Kent he was on terms of personal friendship apart from financial relations, which began when they were young men and lasted as long as they and he lived. The record of these financial relations is contained in private letters which passed between the royal dukes and their banker, and although lists and schedules of these debts and liabilities were published in contemporary pamphlets, even in their obituary notices, and were once a matter of common knowledge, there would be an obvious impropriety in illustrating that chapter of history by a record of details entrusted in confidence and accidentally preserved. Nor are the facts or details of the slightest interest apart from the rank and station of the postulants or expostulants who wrote as others use, when two and two will not make five.

Circumstances of which there is no record seem to have established a far closer tie between the Duke of Kent and his banker than financial relations can account for or explain. The Duke of Kent was not a favourite with the old king, partly because his zeal as an officer in command lacked or was thought to lack discretion; but also, it may be, because his liaison with Madame de St Laurent,[1] the excellent and charming lady who for twenty-eight years was his wife in all but name, brought him into close relations

[1] Her full style and title was Madame Alphonsine Thérèse Bernadine Julie de Montgenet de St Laurent, Baronne de Fortisson. She afterwards became Comtesse de Montgenet.

with Canadian Roman Catholics, laymen and clerics. He was started on his military career on a smaller allowance than his rank and obligations demanded, and debts were incurred from the first in pursuance of his calling which were acknowledged but left unpaid by the king and the Government. There is no evidence of riotous living or of the profligate expenditure of his elder brothers, but he believed himself entitled to royal surroundings, he entertained in princely fashion, and whenever he was stationed at Quebec, at Halifax, as afterwards at Castle Hill Lodge, Ealing, he indulged a taste for landscape gardening which was beyond his means and could only be paid for by the visionary windfall of unsettled claims or by some improbable grant-in-aid from the King's Privy Purse. But what the palmer-worm had left the locust had eaten, and a third royal duke who was out of sight, and, as far as possible, out of mind, might be ignored and rebuffed with impunity.

Edward Augustus, fourth son of George the Third, was born November 2, 1767. As a boy of sixteen he was sent to Luneburg to be trained as a soldier by and under a certain Baron Waggenheim. He had no luck from the first, for the baron, whom he describes as "a mercenary tyrant," pocketed his pocket-money and trained him with a vengeance. The baron was a ruthless martinet, and he succeeded in bending his royal pupil to his own standard of military discipline. It is not so much revenge as the force of example which so often converts the oppressed into the oppressor, and when the Prince succeeded to office and command, in spite of a kindly temperament he exacted from his subalterns and from non-commissioned officers and privates the discipline which he had undergone himself and was still prepared to undergo. From Luneburg he was transferred to Hanover, the capital of the Electorate, thence to Geneva, and finally to Gibraltar, where he was gazetted to the Colonelcy of the 7th Fusiliers. He was no sooner appointed than he set to work to reform the British

Army on German lines, but the Fusiliers hated to be reformed and became more or less disaffected. Reform, no doubt, was more than overdue, but the Prince lacked both experience and tact, and though he won golden opinions in some quarters he was reported, perhaps misreported to the War Office, and by way of mending matters both Fusiliers and their Colonel were ordered to embark to Canada. The regiment was stationed at Quebec, but the Colonel with his "taste for rural life" and for palatial villas took up his residence at Haldimand House at the Falls of Montmorency from whence he drove into town every morning. His public career at Quebec was remarkable for the statesmanlike diplomacy with which he quelled a riot between the French and British Canadians, and also for the ill success which attended his command of the Fusiliers, and which led to renewed disaffection and an organised conspiracy. But to give him his due a speech which Prince Edward delivered in French at Cherbourg (June 27, 1792) is worth quoting for its own sake, and also because the speaker was the grandfather of King Edward the Peacemaker. It was perhaps the first note or hint of that *entente cordiale* which more than a hundred years later was built up and cemented between two peoples by one king: "Can there be a man among you who does not take the king to be the father of his people? Is there a man among you who does not look upon the new constitution as the best possible one both for the subject and the Government? Part then in peace: I urge you to unanimity and concord. Let me hear no more of the odious distinctions of French and English. *You are all* his Britannic Majesty's beloved Canadian subjects."

Soon after his arrival in Quebec the young Prince made the acquaintance of a Canadian gentleman descended from a noble family in the Pays de Basque, M. Ignace Louis de Salaberry, Seigneur of Beaufort. His ancestor had been ennobled on the field of Coutras by Henri Quatre for a deed of daring and clemency performed under his eye. "'*Force*

à superbe Mercy à foible,' said the monarch, 'shall be thy device,' and it has continued to be so to the present day." [1] "He was of great height and enormous strength, and the 'Canadians of old' delighted to tell of his wondrous feats; and though a man of great courage, he was gentle to his friends and courteous to all, and by every act of his life illustrated the motto of his family." [2] He was married to the Demoiselle Catherine Hertel, and after the War of Independence, in which he was twice severely wounded, lived on his estate in the "bosom of his family" at Beaufort, a suburb of Quebec. A close intimacy sprung up between the Prince, Madame de St Laurent, and the De Salaberrys, and their sons and daughters. Whether this friendship was continued after the duke retired to Brussels in 1816 I am unable to say, but a number of letters (1792-1814) from him and his *belle amie* to the De Salaberrys are included in a *Life of . . . Edward, Duke of Kent,* which was compiled by Dr William Anderson, President of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, and published at Ottawa in 1870. In these letters the duke reveals as much and a little more of his real character than is the way of his kind, and the impression left on the mind of the reader who is at pains to wade through them is distinctly pleasant. He was an active, industrious, painstaking man, possessed not so much with his own importance as with that of his post and office, and what is infinitely to his credit, a fellow-feeling impelled him to stand up for those who like himself had been overlooked and deprived of their just rewards and emoluments. To Louis de Salaberry and his sons he was a staunch friend, and he upheld their claims and promoted their interests, if not against his own, yet in quarters where his patronage and support were regarded as an unwelcome intrusion.

According to Creevey [3] the Duke of Wellington disliked

[1] *The Life of . . . Edward, Duke of Kent,* by Dr W. J. Anderson, 1870, p. 9.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[3] *The Creevey Papers,* 1903, i. 284.

and despised the Duke of Kent, and declared that his sisters nicknamed him Joseph Surface. That is like enough, but it must be remembered that a Whig and the friend of Whigs, a commandant who had excited or failed to cope with disaffection, and above all a military doctrinaire, could never have been the Duke's man, and moreover that the outburst which no doubt Creevey made the most of was *à propos* of the Cobourg marriage. As for the royal princesses, excellent women that they were, they very naturally suspected a brother who did not drink or swear, and, as is probable, they may have known and lamented the fate of Madame de St Laurent.[1] But at Quebec and for long afterwards there was no question of a dynastic marriage, and the friend and correspondent of the De Salaberrys was an upright, open-hearted gentleman.

At the end of two years he discovered—not too soon, that he could not afford to live *en prince* at Quebec, and on applying for active service he was sent to the West Indies, and took part in Sir Charles Grey's attack on a force of French Republicans backed by mulattoes and blacks. He distinguished himself at the capture of Martinique and Guadaloupe, and so favourable were the General's despatches that a vote of thanks was passed by both Houses of Parliament, and by the Irish House of Commons. A few months

[1] She was held in high esteem by those who knew her best and were entitled to speak on her behalf. The Duke had settled upon her a sum of £4000 to be paid out of a policy of life assurance for a much larger sum, and had intended that after his debts were paid the balance might be assigned to Madame de St Laurent, then Comtesse de Montgenet. When the Duke died, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans (afterwards King of the French), wrote to Coutts, to tell him that "owing to the generosity and kindness of the Duchess towards Madame de Montgenet he had informed Prince Leopold of the Duke's intention, and that he possessed notes in the Duke's handwriting explaining how the bond had been contracted."

To judge from his letters to the De Salaberrys which Dr Anderson published in his *Life of the Duke of Kent*, she might be described as "une femme spirituelle." It is pleasant to read of the kindness and generosity of the Duchess. All honour to her memory!

later he took up his quarters at Halifax as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. But in the face of this acknowledgment of his prowess and his success we read that he was " left to bear as best he might the degradation and annoyance inseparable from a limited income and unlimited embarrassment . . . even definite promises were forgotten. The Gibraltar debt still pressed heavily on his burdened resources, though the King himself had pledged his royal word he would pay it." But here, too, there was a " pretty lodge," afterwards known as " Prince's Folly," and a miniature Versailles, half natural, half artificial, which was improved and beautified with grottoes and winding paths, the scene of *fêtes champêtres* and munificent hospitality. Even in a palace, life may be well led, and there is abundant evidence that so far as personal habits are a test Prince Edward's mode of life was exemplary, but his " pleasure dome " was devised on the strength of fallacious promises and unacknowledged claims. But except that he got deeper and deeper into debt he did well at Halifax, keeping the garrison on the alert without provoking disaffection, and if an address from the Provincial Legislature, accompanied by the gift of a " star," were spontaneous offerings, he won the approval and goodwill of the civil and military authorities of Halifax. At the close of 1798 he returned to England, and in the following May he took his seat in the House of Lords as Duke of Kent and Strathearn. Then and not till then, in his thirty-second year, he obtained a Parliamentary grant of £12,000 a year, but in spite of a verbal promise from Mr Pitt the grant was not made retrospective, and he was permanently the loser of the accumulated arrears. In the autumn of the same year he returned to Halifax as Commander-in-Chief of the troops of British North America, but at the close of 1800 he was a second time invalided, and it was not till the spring of 1802 that he was once more engaged on active service as the Governor of Gibraltar. This was

the turning-point of his life, and as his letters to Coutts contain some interesting allusions to his policy and its reward, it is necessary to relate a once familiar but forgotten story. More than ten years had gone by since the Duke of Kent, then a young Colonel of Fusiliers, had tried and failed to reform the garrison of Gibraltar. Under the Governorship of General O'Hara things had gone from bad to worse, and on the death of the General the duke was appointed to the vacancy. Lord Sidmouth, the Prime Minister, referring to the drunkenness and insubordination of the garrison, told the duke that it must be put down and that he was the man to do it, and that he could count on the fullest measure of support from the Cabinet. His brother the Duke of York wrote to him in very different terms. He advised him that much caution would be necessary to restore "a due degree of discipline among the troops," and urged him to make a moderate exercise of the power vested in him as Governor. Perhaps he knew his man, perhaps he was more or less indifferent to some of the abuses which were complained of and which had grown up under the system for which he was responsible.

This is what the duke witnessed the very first day of his arrival: viz., "the slovenliness of the privates . . . the inaccuracy of their movements even in the most common manœuvres, and their unsteadiness, as well as that of their officers was beyond the power of language. Nor was their discipline less worthy of the severest censure; for the grossest irregularities were evident, in the conduct of the men off duty, even in the public streets, where they were to be seen in groups wallowing in a state of the most shameful intoxication." No unprotected female could walk the streets even during the day without being subjected to the grossest insults, and in several cases to brutal violence. Moreover the duke perceived that "most of this state of things was due to the carelessness of the officers and their inattention to duty."

And this was how he went to the root of the matter. "He established a roll-call at sunrise, a dress parade in the middle of the day, and one in undress at sunset. He required the presence and unimpeachable sobriety of every man at meal hours, and a report after evening guard of every man being present in barracks." Moreover, he cancelled the license of thirty out of ninety wine and spirit houses, selecting those which had been set up in the immediate neighbourhood of the barracks and guard-rooms or in narrow streets and blind alleys. It is said that by this self-denying ordinance he lessened his official salary by £4000 a year.

It is alleged that by these restrictions he restored discipline, reduced the number of courts-martial, and lessened the death-rate among the troops by at least one-half. But he was in advance of the time, and of the spirit of the place. The proprietors of the wine shops had lost their trade, the officers took it much amiss that parade drill dragged them from their cards and billiards, and the men, especially the Scotch and Irish, were ripe for mutiny.

On December 24, 1802, the 2nd Battalion of the Royals forced open the barrack gates with the object of seizing the adjutant, who in school phrase had gated them, and so prevented them from going into the town. The attempt failed, and the next day the duke harangued but forgave the mutineers. Two days later the 25th Regiment, which had refused to follow the lead of the Royals, got drunk and in turn made overtures to the Royals to join forces and were in turn refused. The second mutiny was put down in less than three hours, but two of the 5th and one of the Royals were killed in the tumult. Out of the ten ringleaders who had been found guilty three were taken out and shot in the presence of the assembled forces. Thenceforward perfect discipline and obedience prevailed. It has been asserted that the mutiny was secretly nursed and engineered by certain of the officers, who resented the duke's reforms

and were anxious to bring him into discredit with the War Office and get him recalled.

Be that as it may, in consequence of misrepresentation or possibly of a bare statement that a serious mutiny had taken place, at the end of three months the Governor was "summarily ordered home," and on his arrival a petition that his conduct should be investigated by a court-martial was peremptorily refused.

The Prime Minister who had promised him before he went out the fullest measure of support from the Cabinet yielded to the wishes of the Commander-in-Chief, and the reply was that for a court-martial to adjudicate on the propriety or impropriety of the actions of an officer of his rank was manifestly inexpedient. No such court of enquiry could be granted. The duke had violated the *lex non scripta* of the persons glorying in the name of Briton, that any remedy is worse than any abuse, for the abuse is part and parcel of things as they are, and the remedy a confession of their folly and unrighteousness. Nor did the admitted fact that he forced the pace and exacted perfection when he should have waited for improvement account for or atone for his recall from Gibraltar and the termination of his military career. There is abundant evidence that in restoring discipline he had carried out orders, and that his policy as Governor met with the approval and gratitude of the inhabitants of Gibraltar. The fact is that for reasons which can only be guessed at, his brother the Duke of York bore him no good will, and the facts which told against the Duke of Kent were looked out for and reported *in malam partem* to the Commander-in-Chief. There had been disaffection at Gibraltar in 1791, there had been riots in Canada, and the simple fact that a mutiny had taken place in consequence of an attempt at reform was occasion and excuse for his being got out of the way. He was not the kind of character which Englishmen like. He lacked the easy virtues and the pleasant vices of his brothers and

their associates. He believed in theory as well as practice, and was very much in earnest in converting his theories into practice. His letters are written with care and precision, but they are explanatory and long-winded, the letters of a man with a life-long grievance. His marriage, "for dynastic purposes," which proved such a blessing to his country, was, no doubt, against his conscience and must have cost him, as long as he lived, many a secret pang. But as soldier and prince he was hardly dealt with in his lifetime, and, save that he was the father of Queen Victoria, his memory has perished. He was far and away the best and worthiest of the sons of George III., and, if he had survived King William and come to the throne, he would have begun what his daughter lived to achieve, the redemption and restoration of the monarchy.

The friendly and intimate relations between the duke and his banker could hardly have been established before the autumn of 1800, when the duke was settled at Kensington Palace after his second return from Canada. At any rate the first of a series of nine letters (which are now published for the first time with the gracious assent of H.M. the King), is dated Gibraltar, August 18, 1802. It is evident that like his elder brothers, the Duke of York and the Duke of Clarence, he had visited at Stratton Street and Holly Lodge, and that he had something more than a formal acquaintance with old Mrs Coutts and the married daughters.

It is more important to note that he was anxious from the first, but more especially after the mutiny, to approve himself to the banker, to win his commendation, and to remove the unfavourable impression which his recall and the talk of the town were likely to have made. No doubt his banker's goodwill was of the highest importance to him financially, but the good word of the king was more to be desired than gold. He was smarting under a grievous wrong, and it was all to the good to have Mr Coutts on his side. Moreover,

as he well knew, the Duke of York, who was also a customer of the bank, and a personal friend of Lord and Lady Bute, was less his brother than his rival and detractor. For this hostility there may have been private reasons of which we know nothing, but the fact may be easily explained. In the first place the Duke of York was a free liver, a man of pleasure, and a man of the world. The Duke of Kent was regular in his habits, abstemious, and a man of theories if not ideas. He was the industrious as opposed to the idle apprentice. Moreover, by an unlucky coincidence, he had succeeded in his profession at the precise juncture when his elder brother and superior officer had failed, not indeed from any want of courage, but partly by ill-luck—in part, too, from lack of brains. Within three or four months of the public recognition which had been bestowed on Prince Edward for his gallantry at Martinique and Guadaloupe, Pitt was compelled to recall the Duke of York in the interests of public safety, and to save his reputation, sorely imperilled by the disastrous campaign of 1793–94 in the Low Countries. There can be little doubt that the contrast of fortune, and the fear of an unfavourable comparison, provoked the elder brother and prompted him to look out for and take advantage of the real or apparent shortcomings of a younger and less favoured Prince.

After the duke's return from Gibraltar he divided his time between his state apartments in Kensington Palace—apartments without a "table," which was provided for his brothers, and was reckoned at £6000 a year, and his palatial villa at Ealing. He was not deprived of his Governorship, but in spite of repeated attempts to submit his case to a court of inquiry he was silently shelved, and permanently debarred from active military service at home and abroad. Letters (now in the British Museum) which passed between him and Lord Pelham, the Home Secretary, and between Pelham and the Duke of York remain to testify how bitterly he felt his "cruel position,"

and how vainly he pushed against the invisible barriers of office and intrigue.

There is, too, a formal but touching letter to Nelson, dated September 12, 1805 (just six weeks before Trafalgar), in which he says, "How proud I should have felt, could I have been thought worthy of being intrusted with the Command of the Army, that may be employed on any service on which your Lordship might take on yourself that of His Majesty's Naval Forces" . . . "but alas! since the unfortunate issue of my command at Gibraltar in 1802–3 I appear to have been quite put aside." The Duke of York would not let him out of his cage, and ministers were afraid or were unwilling to help him to escape. Injustice dies hard, especially in the interests of the public service, but the official smothering of the servants of the public, high or low, is attended with greater difficulties than it was a hundred years ago.

It is computed that the duke lost "in the public service" or failed to receive more than £100,000 which the country owed him, but it was not till 1807 that he realised that he was insolvent, and that he could no longer reckon his claims on King or Treasury as an asset. In that year he consigned one-half of his parliamentary income to a Committee of Trustees for the express purpose of liquidating his debts. But he could not or did not cut down his expenses to any purpose. Here is a description[1] of his "little sylvan Hall" at Ealing which must have figured out, *quam longissime*, from economy and retrenchment. "The approach to the Palace door is magnificent, graceful and picturesque. The line of the road, flanked by a row of lamps the most brilliant I ever saw, is a gentle serpentine. The exterior of the house has . . . a princely air. You can see 'Wyatt fecit' upon every part of the effect, but the interior struck me infinitely more. . . . Everything was exquisite of its

[1] From a letter of Judge Hardinge, dated August 15, 1811; published in *Annals of Ealing*, by Edith Jackson, 1898, pp. 228–32, and elsewhere.

kind, in the taste of its outlines, proportions and furniture. My dressing room is attached itself to the bedroom, and was laid open to it by a folding door. These are the Regent's territories whenever he is at Castle Hill. . . . Opening by accident one of the rooms in the bedchamber, painted with traillage in green and gold, I discovered in an adjourning closet, a running stream and a fountain. I began to think I was in the fields Elysian. . . . All the passages and staircases were illuminated with the lamps in different colours, just as if a masquerade was in train." To make a long story short, and Judge Hardinge's story is very long, the lodge at Castle Hill was like a palace in a fairy tale. Joseph Hume, the President of the Duke's Trustees, and Thomas Coutts, his long-suffering banker, must have shaken their heads and despaired of their efforts to extricate the inextricable. But as time went on and creditors grew uneasy, the duke returned to Brussels and thenceforth lived on the "ridiculously small sum" of £7,000 a year. He appears to have learnt his lesson at last, and after the marriage, when his income was raised to £18,000 a year, he lived at Amorbach in Bavaria, thanks to the goodwill of the duchess, who was laudably anxious that the debts should be paid. Between 1816 and 1819 the duke wrote more or less frequently to Coutts on matters of business in connection with the liquidation of his debts and the additional parliamentary grant on his marriage, but they contain little or nothing of interest. The last letter, dated Kensington Palace, December 13, 1819, is addressed to Mrs Coutts, "to solicit the order of her box at Drury Lane this evening, the Duchess wishing to take the Duchess of Clarence with her, who has already agreed to take an early dinner at Kensington in order that they may go together." She feels that this is too short a notice but hopes that Mrs Coutts will excuse him—and take the duchess to the theatre.

A few days later he took his wife and the infant Princess Alexandrina to Woolbreak Cottage, Sidmouth, for the sake

of the milder climate, caught a cold, and died, presumably of pneumonia, on January 23, 1820, six days before the old king. He inherited his father's obstinacy and capacity for taking pains, but he lacked his cunning and his commonsense. Some men control their circumstances, bringing them into captivity, and others evade them, and live to fight another day. The duke was a brave and honourable man, but circumstances were too strong for him, and he paid the penalty.

CORRESPONDENCE

August 18, 1802, *to January* 28, 1820.

I

H.R.H. the Duke of Kent to Thomas Coutts.

GIBRALTAR. 18*th August* 1802.

DEAR SIR,

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 22nd ultimo on the 15th instant. It gave me infinite concern to find that at the time you wrote you suffered so much from uneasiness both of body and mind, but I hope ere this you are restored to health and tranquillity. —I am very thankful for the friendly attention you have shewn me in communicating the circumstances relating to your son-in-law's election, from which I am sure it follows, that nothing in the world could have been more moderate than your conduct. I had not heard a word of the circumstance previous to receiving your letter, and therefore am even now perfectly ignorant what you allude to, when you mention, " the unprecedented steps that have been taken against you," but whatever these are, or whoever be the persons who have taken them, I shall sincerely hope to hear, that the violence of party once subsided all has come right again, as no man, believe me, can be more sincerely your wellwisher than I am.— Having written to you not many days since on the subject

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF KENT
From an engraving by Thomas Wright after George Dawe, R.A., in the possession of Mr. John Lane

of pecuniary matters, there can be no occasion for me at present to mention that subject, I shall therefore only add the assurance of my regard and esteem, being with these sentiments, My Dear Sir,

Ever yours most faithfully and truly,

EDWARD.

THOMAS COUTTS, Esqr.
&c. &c. &c.

I beg my best remembrance to Mrs Coutts and your daughters.

II

H.R.H. the Duke of Kent to Thomas Coutts.

GIBRALTAR. *9th September* 1802.

DEAR SIR,

I do myself the pleasure to acknowledge your favor of the 19th of August received yesterday, and am thankful for the information it contains of Mr Hale's bill for £1,300 (in my favour) having reached you, and of the same having been accepted for payment on the 14th instant.—I conclude long before this, you will have received the payment of the Bill—transmitted from Halifax for my staff pay until the 24th of June last, as well as the produce of the sale of my horses from Mr Tattersall which Major Hardyman desired him to place in your hands, from which several sums the debt which I owed to your house will, long before this, have been discharged, a circumstance I have much at heart, as I had calculated the whole should have been cleared off within a month of my leaving England.

It was with real pleasure that I learnt your health had already considerably mended when last you wrote and I sincerely hope that your next will inform me of the sea air having perfectly restored you.

It was with real regret that I learnt from you the circumstance of the Duke of Cumberland having quitted your house, but he is naturally so volatile and hasty, and gives himself so little time for reflection that I hope you

will not ascribe to a fault of the heart what I trust can only be an error of the head. The Duke of York, as well as myself, are both a little slower in our motions, and I am confident you feel satisfied, can not ever act towards you as the Duke of Cumberland unfortunately has done.

Having nothing particular to add at present, I shall only desire my kindest remembrance to Mrs Coutts and your daughters, and conclude by subscribing myself with esteem and regard, Dear Sir,

Ever yours most faithfully,

EDWARD.

TH: COUTTS, Esquire.

III

H.R.H. the Duke of Kent to Thomas Coutts.

GIBRALTAR. 16*th October* 1802.

DEAR SIR,

I do myself the pleasure to acknowledge with many thanks your favor of the 20th ultimo, received on the 13th instant, and beg to assure you that I was made very happy at finding you had derived so much pleasure from mine of the 18th of August.—The conscientiousness of having acted in a manner not to merit the unjust censures, which were passed upon your conduct in the affair of the late Middlesex election, added to the conviction that all your real friends were never misled by these calumnies will, I trust by this time, have altogether relieved your mind from the painful sensations which these circumstances at first occasioned.—As to the Duke of Cumberland, my dear Sir, when you reflect, that he is not famed for steadiness, though his heart, we all hope, is good, I think you will feel little cause for entertaining any uneasiness at the step he has taken with respect to your house, for you may depend upon it, as unexpectedly as he removed his account, so unexpectedly will you, some day or other, receive the information of his having relodged it with you, and after that, if ques-

tioned why he had acted in this manner, he would be equally at a loss, were he ever so well disposed, to account for either the one or the other step.—I would with pleasure write to him on the subject, in order to evince the sincere regard and esteem I entertain for you, but I am satisfied it would be of no avail at present, as he is not fond of receiving advice, and perhaps less so from me than any one else, who, he conceives, has not so much knowledge of the ways of the world as he has.

I am highly pleased to find, however, that your health is recovering fast, and I flatter myself that Clifton will shortly set you up altogether.

I feel extremely grateful for the manner in which you speak of the approbation expressed at the way in which I have discharged my duty, since I have been in the command of this fortress. It has ever been my study to give satisfaction since I have been employed in His Majesty's military service, which has been the case, as you well know for nearly thirteen years without intermission, but I never had so difficult a task as in this place, where it fell to my share to correct abuses without end, and to restore discipline and good order, where the reverse had been going on for many successive years.—I will candidly confess I have had much occasion for patience and forbearance in conducting this arduous business, however now, I flatter myself, the worst is over, and those impressions which had been studiously given to the garrison, previous to my arrival, much to my disadvantage by ill-intentioned persons, gradually wearing off.

The weather being now a little cooler, I feel myself much recovered from the bilious complaint under which I laboured during the hot season, and I am looking forward to the next six months with the expectation of enjoying my health much better than I have for some years past.

I have now only to desire my best remembrance to Mrs Coutts and your daughters, and to subscribe myself with high esteem and regard, My Dear Sir,

Ever yours, most faithfully and sincerely,

EDWARD.

THOMAS COUTTS, Esquire,
&c. &c. &c.

IV

H.R.H. the Duke of Kent to Thomas Coutts.

GIBRALTAR. *28th of October* 1802.

DEAR SIR,

Though I have nothing new to communicate, I would not suffer your letter of the 5th of October, received yesterday, to remain unanswered, were it only to express the satisfaction I received from learning that your health is so much improved, and my sincere hopes that the Bristol waters, and a short residence at Clifton, will have quite renovated your constitution. I am thankful for the attention you have been so good as to shew, in directing your house to transmit their quarterly account, whenever the Michaelmas quarter had been drawn by me, without waiting your return to town.—The money which Major Hardyman intimated his expectation of being lodged in your hands, amounting to £400, will probably not exceed the two you have already received, some unexpected circumstances having arisen that led to this little disappointment. He arrived here on the 13th instant after a very prosperous passage, and is very thankful for your enquiries after him.

With respect to the Duke of Cumberland, you are already master of my sentiments, and therefore I shall say nothing more on the subject at present, than that, if I should ever find a proper opportunity of urging him with propriety to return to your house I shall not fail to embrace it.

With best remembrance to Mrs Coutts and your daughters, and the assurance of my true friendship and regard for yourself,

I remain, Dear Sir, ever yours most faithfully and sincerely,

EDWARD.

THOMAS COUTTS, Esquire.
&c. &c. &c.

V

H.R.H. the Duke of Kent to Thomas Coutts.

GIBRALTAR. *9th of December* 1802.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 14th ultimo, dated from Clifton, arrived by Mail this morning; I hasten to acknowledge it with many thanks, and express the great satisfaction I derive from perceiving that you yourself, at the time of your writing it, as well as Mrs Coutts and Lady Guilford, to both of whom I desire to be most kindly remembered, were there, and in the enjoyment of good health.

The manner in which you speak of the favourable accounts you have heard from various quarters, of my efforts to put matters into some sort of decent order here, is particularly flattering to me, as it has ever been my ambition by the faithful and diligent discharge of my duty, in every station in which I have been placed, to merit the good opinion of my friends, in the number of whom I am proud to think that you are not one of the most lukewarm. If His Majesty's Ministers, sensible of the very great injury I suffer in point of emolument, when compared with my predecessors, by striking at the root of the drunkenness and licentiousness of the troops, the source of by far the most lucrative part of the income of the Governor of Gibraltar, will make me an allowance only adequate to enable me to live here without touching my Parliamentary income, and will at length grant me compensation for my repeated losses at sea, I shall be able to return home next spring two years, without owing a shilling to any man; but if either of these points, which I think you will admit I have a right to expect, is withheld, I fear the term of my absence from home must be prolonged to a far later day.

My general health, since the weather began to cool, about the middle of October, has been good, but within

these few days I have had a pretty smart return of the rheumatic attacks, which are the consequences of the repeated changes of climate I have experienced for these last thirteen years.—The severity however of it is already in a great measure gone off, and I hope in a very few days to get the better of it altogether.

Madame de St Laurent desires me to express her kind thanks for your obliging remembrance, and joins with me in every wish for your welfare and happiness.

Believe me to be with unalterable friendship, regard and esteem,

My Dear Sir,

Ever yours most faithfully and sincerely,

EDWARD.

P.S.—Pray accept of my best wishes for the happy lying in of Lady Bute.

THOMAS COUTTS, Esquire.

VI

H.R.H. the Duke of Kent to Thomas Coutts.

GIBRALTAR. *7th February* 1803.

DEAR SIR,

By this days mail I have been favored with your letter of the 14th ultimo, and its inclosure.—I shall commence this by returning you my best thanks for your good wishes on the renewal of the year, and assure you how sincerely I offer you the same; at the same time I must request of you to present my compliments to Mrs Coutts and your daughters, and to express to them the sincere interest I shall ever take in their wellfare and happiness. I ought not to omit giving you joy of Lady Bute's safe delivery, and recovery from her lying in, and I shall thank you to say every thing that is most kind

for me to her Ladyship upon the occasion. I feel very much obliged by your friendly enquiries after my health, it continues on the whole to be tolerably good, notwithstanding all I have had to go through from the recent melancholly events that took place here at the end of December, of which no doubt you will have heard from the publick papers. But I cannot boast of being either in good spirits or finding my situation comfortable, for my feelings have been very severely wounded and I do not think they can possibly recover untill I am enabled to change the scene.—Not wishing to enter into any detail either of the events I allude to, or of their causes, having been obliged officially to advert to them much oftner than I could wish, I beg leave to inform you in case you should be desirous of obtaining more perfect and correct information than you are at present master of, that Captain Dodd my Aide de camp and Secretary will be in England for a short time after this letter reaches you, and if you will address a line to him desiring him to call upon you, I am sure he will be very happy in so doing, his direction is, at the office of Messrs Cox, Greenwood and Cox.—I have sent him to England for the express purpose, that the real truth may be known, and that the facts as well as their causes might be fully stated without addition or diminution ; no one therefore can satisfy your enquiries better than him.—Should it be in your power to shew him any attention during his short stay in London, it will be particularly flattering and satisfactory to me.

The statement of your account up to the 12th ultimo, which you have been so good as to transmit, appears to me to be perfectly correct, and it is my wish that the Balance of £1831. 9. 10 should be transferred to the account subject to the order of Colonel Dalrymple, who is so good as to attend to the liquidation of my debts, a point I have very much at heart, and upon which he has received from me, the most particular directions.—It is my desire also, that you will continue to do the same, every subsequent quarter, whenever you have cast up the balance and reserved such sum as will be necessary to meet the quarterly established payments. —If my memory does not fail me, the last £500—paid to

Mrs Fitz Herbert, will complete the payment of the sum, for which I purchased Castle Hill from her, exclusive of the interest for which as well as the residue of Mr Greenwood's advance, I sometime since desired Colonel Dalrymple to provide in his disbursements for the present quarter. After that, the £700.—.— that were appropriated for the quarterly instalments to Mrs Fitz Herbert and to Mr Greenwood will be turned over as a further addition to the funds subject to the orders of Colonel Dalrymple for the liquidation of debts, the odd £50.—.— remain for the payment of the interest of Mr Beaufoy's mortgage. It will be very satisfactory, should Parliament at length take into consideration the hardship of our present position, with the very limited income that has been granted us, but the promise has been so often held out that I certainly shall not credit the report till I see the measure realised. As to my losses the Treasury has put a negative upon all compensation except for what I sustained by the wreck of the Francis Transport in Decemr. 1799, and it is very problematical what will be the issue of the application on that subject, I own I am not sanguine in my hope of success.—As to the other point which you name, I mean an equivalent for the diminution I sustain in my emoluments as Governor here, by the steps I have judged it necessary to take, for the suppression of drunkenness, Mr Addington has shown a willingness to such an arrangement being made in my favour, but as yet that is all. I think however there is some chance of my obtaining it eventually.

I flatter myself it will be in my power to obtain leave of absence, so as to leave this before the next hot season commences, and if so, I shall hope to meet you at your house in the Strand yet before the King's Birthday. However do not on that account stop your correspondence, for it is yet a matter of great uncertainty.

Madame de St Laurent desires me to thank you kindly for your remembrance of her, and to mention to you that she wishes the half yearly dividend that became due on the 15th of last month, to be retained in your hands, untill she has occasion to draw for it.

I have only now to repeat the sentiments of sincere

friendship and regard, which I shall ever retain for you, and to subscribe myself,

Dear Sir,

Ever yours most faithfully and sincerely,

EDWARD.

THOMAS COUTTS, Esqr.

Private.
Thomas Coutts, Esqr.
Piccadilly,
London.

Kent and Strathearn.

VII

H.R.H. the Duke of Kent to Thomas Coutts.

GIBRALTAR. *22nd of March* 1803.

DEAR SIR,

I do myself the pleasure to acquaint you with my intention of embarking in ten days or a fortnight for England, where I hope to arrive not many days after this letter reaches you.—I have therefore to request that when you receive the Lady-day Quarter, you will retain £1,000 in your hands to be subject to my farther orders. The residue, after deducting the regular established quarterly disbursements, you will turn over to the amount subject to the orders of Colonel Dalrymple.

Having no house in town fit to receive me I shall be under the necessity of establishing myself altogether at Castle hill. On this account I have to request that you will mention to Mr Marjoribanks, should he still be in possession of my old favorite cropt chestnut mare Viper, he would confer a very particular favor on me if he would let me have her again on my arrival provided she is still sound, and as to the price, whatever he chuses to name I shall be ready to pay.—She ever suited me remarkably well, and indeed as I intend keeping my stable upon a very reduced scale, she would be invaluable.—I beg therefore

to recommend this commission to your particular attention, and that you will inform Colonel Dalrymple, whom I expect to see on my reaching London, whether I may reckon upon getting her or not.

I am much hurried, and have only time to add the assurance of my unalterable friendship and regard and with kindest compliments to Mrs Coutts and your daughters, and to subscribe myself,

Ever yours
most faithfully and sincerely,
EDWARD.

TH. COUTTS, Esquire,
&c. &c. &c.

VIII

H.R.H. the Duke of Kent to Thomas Coutts.

GIBRALTAR. 18*th of April* 1803.

DEAR SIR,

Although I am on the eve of my departure from hence and there is every reason to suppose I shall reach England before this letter, I would not suffer your obliging remembrance of the 22nd ultimo, received last evening, to remain unacknowledged. I am thankful for the statement you are so good as to make of the different arrangements that either have been, or are about to be made, pursuant to my wishes, relative to the appropriation of my income, which is perfectly satisfactory.—During my stay in England it will be necessary for me to reserve one thousand pounds per quarter for the account subject to the orders of Lieut. Colonel Smythe or Major Hardyman, but which now will be drawn for by Captain Dodd during the absence of those gentlemen from England, as that sum, with the amount of this Government, which when I am absent will not exceed £4,500 per annum, will be all I shall have to live upon—I think I have acquainted Colonel Dalrymple with this circumstance, but if I have omitted it you will be good enough to do it for me.

I am much obliged by your attention to my commission

relative to Perigord both in discharging his account and in delivering to Mr Scafe the packet and parcel received from Paris for me.—I was much gratified to find you had been able to see Captain Dodd during his short stay in England, and to receive from him a clear statement of the events that occurred here at Christmas that have given me so much uneasiness; for I was apprehensive reports dictated by calumny and malevolence might have reached you, and injured me at first impression in your good opinion, which I was conscious I did not merit. I certainly rejoice much at the thoughts of going home and of a change of scene and climate, both of which are essentially necessary for my health and comfort, but I cannot help wishing the circumstances attending my present visit to England were different from what they are. —I was much concerned to find that you and your family had not escaped the late influenza, but on the other hand gratified to learn from you that Lady Guilford and her children had preserved their health at Bristol.

Having nothing farther to add at present but Madame de St Laurent's best thanks for your kind remembrance of her, I shall conclude this by subscribing myself with sentiments of the highest regard and esteem,

Dear sir,

Ever yours most faithfully and sincerely,

EDWARD.

THOMAS COUTTS, Esquire.

IX

H.R.H. the Duke of Kent to Thomas Coutts.

CASTLE HILL LODGE (near GT. EALING, MIDDLESEX,—10*th June* 1803.

DEAR SIR,

Allow me to acknowledge your obliging letters of the 21st of April, 12th of May and 8th of June, for all of which I am much obliged, and to acquaint you with my intention of calling in the Strand on Monday next at about 12 o'clock, when I shall feel great pleasure if I

find you in good health and spirits. Pray remember me most kindly to Mrs Coutts and your daughters, and believe me ever to be with sincere friendship and esteem

Yours most faithfully and truly,

EDWARD.

Madame de St Laurent is extremely thankful for your obliging inquiries and desires me to say that in a short time when we are a little more settled she hopes for the pleasure of seeing you out here.

THOMAS COUTTS, Esquire,
&c. &c. &c.

X

H.R.H. the Duke of Kent to Lord Pelham.

[B. M. MS. 33,133, fo. 42.]

CASTLE HILL LODGE,
near GREAT EALING, MIDDX.
17th July 1803.

MY LORD,

Ever since my arrival in England, towards the latter end of May last, from Gibraltar, which place I left in conformity to His Majesty's commands, as signified in your Lordship's official letter to the Duke of York, dated the 6th of March last, it has been my first object to obtain that personal communication with the different departments of His Majesty's Government which your Lordship stated, in the letter above alluded to, to be the consideration under which the King had been pleased to direct my return to England.—With this view I addressed the Commander in Chief successively on the 28th of May, 6th and 26th of June, and was greatly mortified when, on the 29th ultimo, I received a letter from the Duke of York informing me, that your Lordship not having received any commands from His Majesty upon the subject of my letter of the 6th which had been laid before him, you had no enquiries to trouble me with in your own Department.—Thus precluded from an oppor-

tunity I had been anxiously seeking to vindicate my character from that stigma which at present attaches to it in the eyes of the world at large, in those of my profession, and more particularly of that part of it which compose the Garrison of Gibraltar, I naturally applied to the Duke of York, upon the strength of your Lordship's declaration in your despatch of the 6th of March, to ascertain what other Departments of His Majesty's Government might be disposed to have that communication with me, which you seemed tacitly to decline. The result of my correspondence with His Royal Highness on this subject has been an observation from him, that he was not aware that any Department of His Majesty's civil government could officially communicate with me on the subject of Gibraltar, except the Secretary of State for the Home one. This opinion therefore obliges me to address myself directly to your Lordship, and to request, that you will favor me with an interview in order that I may at the same time have an opportunity of obtaining from you an explanation of the line of conduct that has been adopted towards me, and of making you fully acquainted with every circumstance relating to those events, which appear to have been the primary cause of my removal from my command.

I will not at present attempt to convey the expression of all I have gone through since that unfortunate moment, nor of those feelings which I still experience from the cruel position in which I am placed, intending to reserve what I have to say on these points until the day of our meeting.—I shall therefore conclude this letter by requesting to know if Saturday next at 10 o'clock will suit your Lordship's convenience, and if you will then see me at your own house or at your office.

I remain with sentiments of high consideration
My Lord
Yours most sincerely,
EDWARD. General
and Governor of Gibraltar.

The Right Honourable
Lord Pelham,
&c. &c. &c.

XI

H.R.H. the Duke of Kent to Lord Pelham.

CASTLE HILL LODGE. 5*th August* 1803.

MY LORD,

A fortnight having now elapsed since I had the pleasure of an interview with you, at which you promised to assemble the Cabinet on my business, and eleven days since you informed me of indisposition having prevented you from acquainting those who compose it with the purport of what I had expressed to you, I am induced, knowing that a Cabinet has met on other matters, at your house in the intermediate time, to request to be informed whether it has been taken into consideration, and if not that your Lordship will bear in your recollection the very cruel position in which I am at present placed, as well as how much I have already suffered from procrastination, and not permit any longer delay to arise in bringing the matter to issue than can possibly be avoided. The probability of an approaching rupture with Spain, and the consequent prospect of active operations being undertaken in the Mediterranean in a short time make me the more anxious to see those difficulties removed which at present seem to prevent my returning to my station, the expediency of which both my duty and my inclination make me feel most strongly, and I trust your Lordship cannot but enter into my motives for urging a prompt decision on my case, which I dare hope from your candour.

I remain with sentiments of high regard and esteem, my Lord,

Ever yours most faithfully,

EDWARD, Genl.
and Governor of Gibraltar.

XII

H.R.H. the Duke of York to Lord Pelham.

(Private and Confidential)

PORTMAN SQ. *February 5th*, 1804.

MY DEAR LORD,

Having been prevented from calling upon you as I had intended, I have desired General Bude to communicate to you the enclosed correspondence which has passed between the Duke of Kent and myself upon the subject of his wishing to return to Gibraltar. As I think that I can not let his last letter pass without an answer, and as you will probably remark how differently he represents what passed between you and him from what I understood from you, I should wish much to know whether I am right in my conception of the conversation, in order to frame my answer accordingly.

Believe me ever,
My dear Lord,
Yours most sincerely,
FREDERICK.

XIII

Lord Pelham to H.R.H. the Duke of York.

STRATTON STREET,
Feby. 5th, 1804.

SIR,

I have this day received from the hands of General Bude, your R. H.'s letter inclosing the correspondence with the Duke of Kent.

Your Royal Highness will I hope excuse me if I say that I do not think either of the letters contain an accurate statement of what passed between the Duke of Kent and me.

His Royal Highness was extremely anxious that I

should enter into a discussion of what passed at Gibraltar, and communicate to him the opinion of his Majesty's confidential servants upon his conduct, stating that he looked to me as the Minister in whose Department he was and who had written the letter which occasioned his recall.

I told His Royal Highness in that conversation that I did not conceive His Majesty's confidential servants would be easily induced to give an opinion upon a subject which was purely military in itself, tho' they had taken a part in the first instance in consideration of the peculiar circumstances of the persons immediately concerned; that Y.R.H. the Commander in Chief being brother to the Governor of Gibraltar and that both being sons of the King, there were many considerations which not only influenced their conduct at the time, in stepping, in some degree, out of their line by making the first communication of the disaster at Gibraltar to the King, but also in determining me to take the King's pleasure about the letter to be written to your R. H. communicating His Majesty's pleasure that the Duke of Kent should return to England.

I did undertake to state to the Cabinet His R:H:'s sentiments and feelings and I called His Majesty's confidential servants together for the purpose, but I was prevented by illness from attending them and the only other Cabinet I was present at before I was removed from office, was upon the first advices from Ireland concerning the business of July 23rd.

I can as certainly say that I never gave the Duke of Kent the least intimation that it was likely he would return to Gibraltar, or that he would receive any mark of his Majesty's approbation of his conduct which was also very strongly urged. I endeavoured always to impress upon H:R:H:'s mind, that considering who he was, his continuance at Gibraltar or his return thither might be very fairly considered a State question, altho' the particular events at Gibraltar might be purely military, that I had therefore joined in the advice for his recall, but that I did not think myself competent to enquire into the events at Gibraltar which seem to be purely military.

I was unwilling to send back the papers without making this statement, altho' I fear it may be a very imperfect one, and I shall be very happy to attend to Y:R:H:'s commands whenever you shall honour me with them upon this subject.

I am &c., &c., etc.

(*signed*) PELHAM.

Note.—A MS. copy. Not the original sent off.

Endorsed Copy. Answer to H.R.H. the Duke of York, Feby. 5, 1804. Duke of Kent's recall from Gibraltar.

XIV

H.R.H. the Duke of Kent to Viscount Nelson, K.B.

(*Private*) B. M. MS., 34,931, f. 174.

KENSINGTON PALACE,
Sept. 12th, 1805.

MY DEAR LORD,

The kindness you have ever shown to my protégé young Rainsford induces me to request of your Lordship, to give me your opinion, whether it would be for his advantage to be removed at present to a frigate from the *Victory*, as, if that is the case, I shall then intreat you, to place him with any officer, of whom you entertain a good opinion, only promising, that my *first* wish is that he should remain under your protection, and not be sent anywhere, from under your own command, as I am naturally anxious, that, if he merits it, he should look up to *you* altogether for his future advancement in the profession.

If I had had the good fortune of seeing your Lordship before you left town, it was my intention to have said to you, how proud I should have felt, could I have been thought worthy of being intrusted with the command of the army, that may be employed on any service, on which your Lordship might take on yourself that of His Majesty's Naval Forces, being fully convinced that with such a

colleague, there is nothing almost, that might be undertaken, the issue of which would be doubtful. But alas! since the unfortunate issue of my command at Gibraltar in 1802–03, I appear to have been set quite aside, and I see no prospect of any favourable change occurring; but should such a circumstance, though unexpected, occur, it would be a great satisfaction to me to know, that your Lordship would not be averse to having me with you.

In the meanwhile, my best and most fervent wishes will ever attend you, and it will be a subject of real pride to me to be considered one of your warmest friends and admirers. With these sentiments and those of the highest personal regard and esteem, I remain,

My dear Lord,
Ever yours most faithfully and sincerely,
(Signed) EDWARD.

Lord Viscount Nelson, K.B. &c., &c.
(Addressed to) Lord Nelson Viscount, Admiralty. *Private.*
(Franked by) Kent and Strathearn.

XV

Thomas Coutts to H.R.H. the Duke of Kent.

STRAND, LONDON.
March 3rd, 1816.

SIR,

I have perused with much attention and great pleasure the papers Your Royal Highness sent me for that purpose, on your late departure for Brussels, respecting affairs on which you communicated with the various Ministers of the day, the clear details and accuracy whereof must ever do Your Royal Highness the greatest honour. I should flatter myself that Ministers employed in the financial arrangements of the Empire, whatever difficulties they may have to encounter from the consequences of the dreadful disaster of the war and the unexampled expense consequent to it, will feel it incumbent upon

them to give the consideration due to Your Royal Highness's situation, and be well inclined to administer that relief as circumstances may render possible; and I cannot allow myself to speak of the universal approbation that I think must follow the determined and zealous exertions of Your Royal Highness for the discharge of the encumbrances that have distressed you, and the pleasure every person will feel at seeing them attended with ultimate success. I had frequent communications with Mr Adam at the time he was engaged in treating with Mr Pitt on the subject of the aid proposed to be given to the younger branches of the Royal Family and the *particular hardship of Your Royal Highness's own situation, and your statements regarding these objects appear to me to be perfectly correct.* I also remember to have seen Mr Pitt myself, and to have conversed with him often on the same. It is difficult, especially with my failing memory, to recall to mind all particulars, especially sums and dates alluded to in such conversations; but I well remember £6,000 as the sum of additional annuity determined upon. I also recollect hearing it spoken of as a matter of injustice and inequality that the two Princes residing in Kensington Palace had not any table found them, as the other three residing at St James's had, and which he valued at a very considerable sum. I think it was also mentioned as Mr Pitt's intention that the whole five Princes, besides the new grant of £6,000 per annum, should have an equal sum allowed to each in the room of a table; although I cannot boast of my memory enabling me to state the quantum of the proposed allowance. As to the other two points, namely, remuneration for having your parliamentary grant of £12,000 per annum voted to you several years later in your life than any of the other four Princes, older or younger than yourself, had them, or for losses by shipwrecks or captures, I do not remember what may have been proposed to have been given in compensation for either, though I recollect to have heard them both spoken of as being fair claims. Mr Adam, I think, is more likely than I am to give a full explanation and clear information, having had more frequent opportunities of intercourse and going to Mr Pitt expressly on Your

Royal Highness's business ; whereas my business occurred irregularly and accidentally, at times when I had occasion to go to him on his own business ; but I clearly recollect that Mr Pitt always expressed the greatest wish that all Your Royal Highness's and your brothers' embarrassments should be totally removed, and your income made such as to prevent all occasion to resort to the necessity of borrowing, and equal to supporting the dignity of illustrious rank in the Empire.

I have the honour to be, with the most dutiful respect,
Sir, Your Royal Highness's
Most faithful and obedient servant,
(*signed*) THOMAS COUTTS.

XVI

H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent to Thomas Coutts.

KENSINGTON PALACE.
29th January, 1820.

SIR,

I have received with much emotion your letter of this day ; the sentiments you express towards my late Husband are so entirely in unison with the feelings His Royal Highness led me to entertain of you, that I lose not a moment in expressing my deep sense of the sorrow you feel, in an event that has deprived me of such happiness as rarely falls to persons in any situation of life. I accept with much gratitude your sentiments of attachment to me, and if I should find it necessary, I shall not fail to rely on them.

I beg you to accept the assurances of my high consideration, And I remain, Sir,

Your's, &c.,
VICTOIRE,
DUTCHESS OF KENT.

THOMAS COUTTS, Esquire.

CHAPTER XXII

THOMAS COUTTS AND ALL THE ROYAL FAMILY

" Princes, enough, so please you."
Troilus and Cressida, IV. 5.

THE troubles and disappointments, whether due to ill-luck or to mismanagement, which beset the Duke of Kent, led to a more intimate correspondence with Thomas Coutts than that which passed between the other royal brothers and their banker. But they, too, when need arose, or covers were spread at Stratton Street or Holly Lodge, put pen to paper, and wrote at once magnificently and gratefully with their own royal hands. Of their borrowings and repayments, and their securities, nothing need be said, nothing could be said of the slightest interest to the least intelligent and most curious reader; but the friendliness of their attitude to Coutts and his family is not altogether to be accounted for by a sense of favours received or to come. They liked him for his own sake.

There is a family likeness in the style and mode of their address. A letter from the Duke of York might have been written by the Duke of Clarence or the Duke of Sussex. Even the younger generation, the offspring of morganatic or irregular marriages, pipe to the same tune. As we read, the custom of *that* antique world survives. We are presented to a portly be-ribbanded figure which resolves itself into a superb bow, and we catch the gracious accents as they fall from the royal lips, " I am eternally grateful, I am vastly *obleeged* to you ! "

There is no evidence that until the close of his life princes were frequent or regular guests at Coutts' table. The Duke of York was an old friend of the first Marquis of Bute, and after her marriage, in 1800, of the young Marchioness. In his earlier letters to Coutts he speaks of a postponed visit to Luton, and of frequent calls on Lady Bute at her villa at Brompton. After Lord Bute's death in 1814 his widow, who had always been more or less of an invalid, made a home for herself and her two children at Naples; but in 1818, when she returned to England to visit her father, the Duke sought her out and promised to make the acquaintance of her youthful son, Lord Dudley Stuart, known and honoured by a later generation as the friend and champion of the Poles.

Once and once only in his relations with the Duke of York Coutts met with a rebuff and discovered that there were bounds which even he could not pass. A marriage "had been arranged and would shortly take place" between the second Marquis of Bute and Lady Maria North, step-daughter of Susan Lady Guilford. The Duke of York had promised to give away the bride, and Coutts, who was highly incensed, had done his best to make the Duke retract, and go back from his word. At this time (July 1816) there was war to the knife between the old banker and his eldest daughter, Lady Guilford, and though he had been invited to the wedding and received the first offer of giving away the bride, it would seem that the second Mrs Coutts had been ignored and treated as non-existent. If the Duke not only attended the wedding but acted in lieu of old Coutts, a seal would be set on an exquisite indignity, and the contumelious daughter would score a success. It is needless to say that with every expression of attachment and goodwill the Duke found it impossible to withdraw from his promise to the Marquis, or to take "a most decided part in a family dispute in which he was not warranted to interfere." Coutts was right to uphold his wife's claims

to the fullest respect on the part of his own family, and, if he chose, to punish any slight or disregard on their part, but there were no rights of war over non-combatants. Family quarrels should stop short of an indiscriminate *vendetta*.

The earliest record of the presence of royal guests at Stratton Street rests on the authority of King William the Fourth, who told the story to "a gentleman" who communicated it to or for Mrs Cornwell Barron-Wilson.[1] It is a good story, and, for an anecdote, by no means improbable. The King when Duke of Clarence was "a frequent guest of Mr Coutts" before the death of his first wife in 1814. Mrs Coutts had lost her memory, if not her wits, but her kind-hearted husband shrank from recognising her condition, and insisted on her being taken down to dinner by the principal guest. On her way thither, so the story goes, the infirm old lady would whisper to her royal escort, "Sir, are you not George the Third's *father*?" "I always answered in the affirmative," said the Duke; "I have often been told I was my father's *own son*, but never before was taken for my father's *father*. However, you know, there's no use contradicting women, young or old, eh?" It would be interesting to know how this conversation went on, but the story ends before the dining-room was reached. To pass from legend to history, after his second marriage Coutts gave many feasts in honour of his royal clients. There is evidence in their own handwriting, and there are the crumbs of gossip picked up by serviceable diarists. It is enough to record two or three of these events.

The Prince Regent, accompanied by Lord William Gordon, dined at Holly Lodge on August 1, 1816. The hour was six o'clock! The Duke of York, attended by Mr Joseph Jekyll, dined at Holly Lodge on June 5, 1818. Once again the hour was six o'clock. On another occasion,

[1] *Memoirs of Miss Mellon*, 1887, ii. 79.

however—we cannot fix the date—our Sailor Prince took the law into his own hands, and accepted an invitation to dinner at Stratton Street for seven o'clock: "Sooner," he writes, "you cannot expect visitors,—" at least not sailor princes.

The following memorandum—say rather proclamation—(it is engrossed on parchment and the capitals are illuminated) speaks for itself:—

Copy.

HOLLY LODGE.

On Monday the 13th November 1820 His Royal Highness the Duke of York after dining with Mr and Mrs Coutts came up into this room to see the brilliancy in the Atmosphere over London occasioned by a splendid Illumination on that evening in consequence of a Bill of Pains and Penalties which had been pending in the House of Peers against Caroline Queen of England having been given up on its third reading on Friday the 10th of November.

The Duke of York is next in succession to the Crown of England.

It might have been taken for granted "that on such a night as this" the Duke of York would not have been dining out, or, as he seems to have done, looked on without disapprobation on a triumphant outburst of disloyalty to the Crown. Thomas Coutts was a kind but judicious friend to Queen Caroline, the impossible, and contrived to retain her confidence without risking the goodwill and affection of King George the intolerable; but the Duke of York, who stood to lose his succession to the Crown if the King got his divorce, might have rejoiced in solitude and in silence.

"But Scripture saith an ending to all fine things must be." Here is Thomas Creevey's report[1] at second hand of the

[1] *Creevey Papers*, 1703, ii. 3.

last, or almost the last, occasion on which Thomas Coutts played host to royalty. It is the old story of the fox and the grapes :—

" I dined with Mrs Taylor yesterday—Taylor and Mrs Ferguson being engaged at Coutts' to celebrate his wedding-day. They returned in the evening and Mrs Ferguson, from her appearance, might have been in a hot bath. They sat down to dinner, thirty : old Coutts and his bride sitting side by side at the top of the table. The Dukes of York, Clarence, and Sussex were there : at side tables were placed musicians and songsters ; one of the latter fraternity from Bath was paid £100 for his trip."

" Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard are sweeter." It is best to leave these suppers of the gods to the imagination. Let us be content with a smirk and a bow from T.R.H. as their curricles swing through the lodge-gates, and we are left outside.

Custom or etiquette disallowed any direct communication between the Prince Regent and his bankers, but private secretaries, keepers of the privy purse, equerries and the like, wrote for him on matters of business, and in the way of business or out of sheer good-nature, doled out morsels of backstairs gossip. The business letters (perhaps there were no *letters*) are not forthcoming, but the other missives by chance or of set purpose were preserved. The first note of any importance is from Lord William Gordon, a son of Coutts' old friend the match-making Duchess Jane, and a brother of Lord George of the Gordon riots. It is dated Green Park Lodge, November 10, 1818. " The Regent is in low spirits owing to the melancholy scenes at Kew." " The old Queen, suffering from violent attacks," lay a-dying, or, in courtly phrase : " Her Majesty's existence is drawing to an early close." The dying mother, the mad blind King, the weeping daughters, the quarrelsome, ill-conditioned sons—it *was* a melancholy scene !

Lord William's next letter, from " The Pavilion, Brighton,

January 21, 1819," is set to a different tune. The Regent is in perfect health, Lord Fife is the new Lord of the Bed Chamber, and Lord Aylesbury, Ministers notwithstanding, has the Green Ribbon; a house on the Steyne is vacant, and as Mr Coutts Trotter and Sir Edmund Antrobus have had their holidays, it is surely the turn of the senior partner. "Mrs Coutts' turkeys (a regular and most welcome Christmas present) were the wonder and delight of all present."

A midsummer offering of more value than many turkeys is implied in a brief despatch from Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, dated June 18, 1819: "Everything has been arranged with Sir E. Antrobus" and the royal Mercury is deeply grateful. He will call and see both partners, and retail all the gossip, "of which some is curious." Sir Thomas writes with all the modesty of conscious greatness. There is an echo of this timely arrangement in a letter from Sir Benjamin Bloomfield (afterwards Baron Bloomfield) keeper of the privy purse, dated *Royal George Yacht*, off Cowes, August 17, 1819. Sir Benjamin does not forget his office or himself for a moment. He apologises for not having called, and encloses an order for the Pavilion. His Royal Highness is an ideal sailor—great on sea as great on land. "He has been received everywhere with enthusiasm." At the end of the year (December 20) Sir Benjamin, on behalf of the Prince Regent, writes to thank Mrs Coutts "for the magnificent supply to his table"—"with his sincere love." *Had* he "a heart for falsehood framed"? Surely this is a genuine expression of gratitude—for one or more turkeys!

Almost before the Christmas festivities were over it was known at Carlton House that King George the Third was on his deathbed. It was sixty years since James Coutts had been appointed banker to the privy purse, two and thirty years since Thomas Coutts had feared that a new king might turn his thoughts to a new banker, and though in these latter days the demise of the Crown involved neither risk nor change, it was right and proper that he should

be apprised that the end had come. Accordingly on January 2, 1820, the Regent's Secretary, Mr Frederick B. Watson writes to say that the king, though not dead, is dying, and that he will let Coutts know if there is any material change. He speaks of the kindness which, in his own person or vicariously, he had received from the house in the Strand. This, no doubt, was a letter of business, and perhaps throws some light on a mysterious notelet from Lord R. Spencer, who, on February 11, within a fortnight of the old King's death, writes to inquire " how much had been left to the Duke of York by will." Why that question was asked, or how it was answered there is nothing to show, but we may be sure that if Coutts had any information to give he kept it to himself.

The King's death was a heavy blow to the Duke, for he had been drawing ten thousand a year, as Custos of the King's Body, and though he was next in succession to the Crown, there was no chance that either Parliament or the new king would provide him with another sinecure. His hopes for the future depended on the terms of his father's will.

The summer and autumn of the " First of King George IV " were given up to the trial of Queen Caroline in the House of Lords. The minutest details of that tedious and squalid history were soon to be recorded in the pages of the *Annual Register*; but, possibly, whilst the trial was in progress there was a dearth of news at first hand. At any rate, the crisis provided Tyrwhitt with an excuse for parting with a few unconsidered trifles of gossiping comment on the attitude and temper of a majority of the Peers. Perhaps he knew that the King's banker was inclined to sympathize with the Queen, and that it would gratify him to know that " Lord Grey had made a beautiful speech on the injustice of the whole proceedings," (July 21), and later on September 5th, that Ministers " were to go to the King, and say that they could not carry the divorce," and

that though "Crown witnesses were to be brought back and up, there would be a mutiny in the House if these delays were enforced." It would seem from the tone of his letters that Tyrwhitt was on the Queen's side himself.

So long as he lived Coutts was a force to be reckoned with, a person well worth obliging; and in the autumn of 1821, though he was visibly failing in body, if not in mind, he was kept carefully informed of the royal divagations. Once more (August 1), Lord William Gordon takes up the pen. The Queen is dead, and how will this affect the "Irish Avatar" or the King? He is to land in Howth Harbour on the opposite side of Dublin from Dunbery Bay, because from Howth Harbour he could go straight to Phœnix Park and so avoid Dublin till the Queen (the dead Queen) is fairly out of England. But the Queen was to give trouble, or to cause trouble in death as in life! In a second note, written on the next day, Lord William describes the impeded progress of the Queen's funeral. It was to have left Chiswick for the City viâ Church Street, Kensington, but the road was blocked and the pavement torn up. Again, in the Park at Cumberland Gate so violent was the resistance of the mob in the attempt to stop the funeral cortége from going along the Uxbridge Road, that sixty of the Life Guards were ordered to fire and one man was killed. It must have been at the close of this ominous and disgraceful scene that an incident occurred which Lord William does not report—perhaps because it never reached his ears. The Duke of Wellington, who had been in command of the escort, was riding back across the Park, side by side with Lord Anglesea, when one of the mob, by way of avenging the wrongs of the Queen, spat, not on the Duke's leg, but on Lord Anglesea's. The Marquis (as who would not?) raised his cane to strike his assailant, but the rest is silence; for the Duke, who, long years after, told the tale himself to one of his *aides-de-camp*, on being asked "And what did your Grace do?"—"Sir," said the hero of Waterloo,

" why, I rode away like a Frenchman!" [1] The anecdote rests on the authority of the Duke's *aide de-camp*, who, with other circumstances of time and place, conveyed it to the late Mr Justice Coleridge, when he visited Strathfieldsaye in 1836. But it is too good *not* to be true.

Once more, and for the last time, on December 21, 1821, Sir Benjamin Bloomfield executed the " King's Command," to thank Mr and Mrs Coutts for their " Christmas offering and for their expression of loyal attachment " ; and then, descending, as it were, from the steps of the throne, he thanks them for " *a turkey* sent to his humble abode," and assures them that they over-rate any little attentions he may have paid them.

Taking all things into account, in his relations to his Royal patrons and clients, Thomas Coutts remembered what was due to himself, whilst he never forgot what was due to them. No doubt on the whole he stood to gain, but at times, and perhaps for year after year the balance between loss and gain must have trembled on the scale.

Whatever documents may have been lost or destroyed, or may have passed into other hands, the residue (of which only a fraction is included in this work) contains nothing which could be published to the detriment of the honour and good faith of the parties concerned. There was a simple, kindly side to these free-living, misbehaving Princes, and they show themselves at their best, both in their financial and in their social relations with their banker. He inspired them with respect, and they won his sincere as well as his " loyal attachment."

[1] But in 1916 Britain has seen "another sight"; and if the great Duke had been alive to tell the tale, he would have altered his tune and his simile.

Correspondence

September 21, 1802—*Aug.* 28, 1821

I

H.R.H. The Duke of York to Thomas Coutts.

Horse Guards, *September 21st,* 1802.

Dear Sir,

I take the earliest opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, and trust that I need not assure you how happy I am at all times when it is in my power to forward any wish of yours.

You may depend upon my making inquiry whether it is the intention to send any Minister to Studtgard or not, and if it is I will take such measures as I think may be of use as far as I can in forwarding Sir John Stuart's views.

Believe me Ever, Dear Sir,
Yours most sincerely,
Frederick.

Thomas Coutts, Esqr.

II

H.R.H. The Duke of York to Thomas Coutts.

Horse Guards, *December 14th,* 1802.

Dear Sir,

I take the earliest opportunity in my power to acknowledge the receipt of your very obliging letter of the 12th instant, and to assure you that nothing but an extraordinary pressure of business would have prevented me from answering sooner your last letter, which indeed I had desired Mr Dickie when I last saw him to acquaint you with.

I did not fail to send to Mr Otto your letter which you enclosed to me, and beg that you will be persuaded that nothing could be further from my thoughts than taking it ill of you.

I need not, I trust, assure you how happy I am at all times when it is in my power to pay attention to any wish or recommendation of yours and how glad I shall be when an opportunity offers of bringing Captain Coutts from the half pay of the 12th Dragoons upon full pay again.

It would also give me satisfaction if it was in my power to forward your wish for Captain Hall of the 60th Regiment in obtaining for him a District Pay Mastership, but that appointment rests wholly upon the Secretary at War.

I had hoped long before this to have been able to acquaint you that I had received the different remittances which I expect from Germany, and that the final arrangement of my affairs had taken place; but owing to the delay in the Hanoverians taking possession of the Bishoprick of Osnabruck which they only did the 12th of November instead of the 1st of October, as it was first intended, nothing is as yet assured. I am given to understand however that I may expect at least a part of it in a very few posts.

I was very happy when I called upon Lady Bute to find her so well; to-day I am to have the pleasure of dining with her.

May I beg my best compliments to Mrs Coutts and that you will believe me ever,

Dear Sir,

Yours most sincerely,

FREDERICK.

III

H.R.H. The Duke of Clarence to Thomas Coutts.

ST JAMES'S,
Thursday, Noon.
[1818.]

DEAR SIR,

I am to acknowledge yours of yesterday and thank you most sincerely for your truly kind wishes on

the subject of my late marriage: I really believe from the general character of the Dutchess and from the knowledge of her disposition within this fortnight which I have closely studied, I have every fair prospect of success.

Major FitzClarence[1] is, thank God, going on as well as possible and may in future take the advice of those who are older than himself: my best wishes and compliments attend Mrs Coutts and ever believe me,

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM.

IV

H.R.H. The Duke of Clarence to Thomas Coutts.

ST JAMES'S,
Tuesday Night.

DEAR SIR,

I have not forgot the agreeable party for to-morrow and shall make a point of paying my respects to you and Mrs Coutts at Seven o'clock: sooner you cannot expect any visitors: till then adieu and ever believe me,

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM.

(Envelope)

To Thomas Coutts, Esqr.,
Stratton Street,
Piccadilly.
Clarence.

[1] In 1814 Captain George Fitzclarence (afterwards Earl of Munster) and his brother, Lieutenant Henry Fitzclarence, were removed from their regiment, the 10th Hussars, to a regiment on service in India. The Fitzclarences, together with other officers, had accused their commanding officer, Colonel Quentin, of want of gallantry at the battles of Orthes and Toulouse, with the result that the Colonel was acquitted and the subalterns were severely punished.

V

H.R.H. The Duke of York to Thomas Coutts.

STABLE YARD,
May 20th, 1818.

DEAR SIR,

I need not, I trust, assure you of the pleasure with which I shall avail myself of your and Mrs Coutts' obliging invitation to dine at Holly Lodge. The whole of the next week I am particularly engaged, but if Friday fortnight the 5th of June will suit you, I shall be happy to profit by it, and will not fail to offer our friend Mr Jekyll[1] to bring him with me.

Six o'clock, which, I believe, is your usual hour of dinner, will perfectly suit me.

I remain, ever Dear Sir, with kind regards to Mrs Coutts,

Yours most sincerely,
FREDERICK.

VI

H.R.H. The Duke of York to Thomas Coutts.

STABLE YARD,
July 16th, 1818.

DEAR SIR,

Upon my return home last night from Carlton House, I found your letter with its inclosure, the contents of which I must confess, have given me great concern. I must beg to recall to your recollection what passed

[1] Joseph Jekyll (d. 1837) Solicitor-General to the Prince of Wales, and, at his instance, a Master in Chancery, was a frequent guest at Holly Lodge and Stratton Street. There are numerous allusions to "Old Coutts" and to his widow, "Duchess Coutts," as he calls her, in his *Correspondence*, which was published in 1894.

in our conversation in the presence of Mrs Coutts last Tuesday in the Strand, that on informing you of my having accepted of the proposal made to me by Lord Bute to give away Lady Maria North at her Marriage, I more than once repeated my great regret that any misunderstanding should exist in a family for whom I had so sincere a regard and who had always till lately been so peculiarly united as yours, though I did not consider myself as in any manner warranted to interfere in it—which indeed from the beginning I have studiously avoided, as you well know.

That with this feeling I had hinted to Lord Bute when he spoke to me the propriety of his first applying to you to give away Lady Maria North as an opportunity perhaps of restoring harmony, when his Lordship informed me that he had actually done so, but that an unfortunate misunderstanding had arisen concerning Mrs Coutts being present at the marriage, which both Lady Maria and himself had attempted to set right by letter, copies of which he showed me, as well as afterwards by an endeavour on his part to obtain a personal interview of you but in vain. Under these circumstances, fearing that you might misconceive my conduct if you learnt from any other quarter that I had been present at Lady Maria's wedding I determined to call upon you and to explain the matter to you myself, which at the moment I had every reason to think from what you said to me that it was fully and satisfactorily understood by you.

It is therefore with great concern, My Dear Sir, that I find that I have been mistaken and that you seem to think the Marquess of Bute's request to me, that I must ever consider as a proof of his regard and attention for me, was personally offensive to you, which nothing I am sure can be further from my thoughts, and I have no doubt equally so from his. I trust, however, that a little consideration will make you sensible of the impossibility of my declining Lord Bute's invitation which would not only be highly disrespectful to his Lordship, but would be taking a most decided part indeed in a dispute with which I am in no manner warranted to

interfere and that with every other true friend of you and your family I cannot but sincerely deplore.

I remain ever,
Dear Sir,
Yours most sincerely,
FREDERICK.

Thomas Coutts, Esq.

VII

H.R.H. The Duke of York to Thomas Coutts.

STABLE YARD,
February 8th, 1819.

DEAR SIR,

I had fully intended ere this to have thanked you in person for your obliging letter of the 5th instant, but having been hitherto prevented by particular business, I will not any longer delay acknowledging it, and expressing to you my sincere regret at the melancholy account you gave me of poor Lady Bute's health. I will not fail to take the earliest opportunity of writing to her Ladyship, as nobody can be more sincerely interested in her health and prosperity than I am.

I am happy to hear that both you and Mrs Coutts, to whom I beg to be most kindly remembered, have felt the good effects of having passed the last week at Highgate; you have by that reason escaped the dreadfull and continued fog which we have had in this Town and which cannot but have been very unwholesome.

I have not failed to enquire very particularly into Captain Dickson's Son, and after the fullest investigation am sorry to say that without breaking through the rules of the Service, it is impossible to comply with his wishes.

I remain ever,
Dear Sir,
Yours most sincerely,
FREDERICK.

Thomas Coutts, Esq.

IX

H.R.H. The Duke of Clarence to Thomas Coutts.

DOVER CASTLE,
Sepr. 29th, 1819.

DEAR AND KIND SIR,

Yours of 27th instant reached me this morning and I am to return you my sincere thanks for your friendly expressions of regard and esteem: though we must at this season of the year expect rough weather, the month of October is always we know the most beneficial time for bathing and I trust the Dutchess will reap every benefit from being here she so much deserves: you know the Castle, and I can assure you we are comfortably lodged and if our residence in it does the Dutchess all the good I wish her, I shall be eternally grateful to these old walls.

I believe Lady Guilford and your grand-daughters are with you at Brighton, in which case I beg to be most kindly and particularly remembered to Mrs Coutts and to the other ladies of your family of all ages. God bless and preserve you, and I ever remain,

Dear Sir,
Yours unalterably,
WILLIAM.

X

H.R.H. The Duke of Clarence to Thomas Coutts.

ST JAMES'S,
May 13th, 1821.

DEAR SIR,

On my return late last night from the Scottish Corporation I found your kind note and now take up my pen to return you my sincere thanks for the kind interest you take in the welfare of my happy and fortunate son

who has obtained the hand of Lady Augusta Boyle.[1] This union affords me the highest satisfaction and I trust to compleat this lucky event next Wednesday.

It is delightful to see the King in such perfect health and that the publick are at length doing justice to their Sovereign.

My best and warmest wishes attend Mrs Coutts ; God bless and preserve you and ever believe me,

Dear Sir,

Yours unalterably,

WILLIAM.

XI

H.R.H The Duke of York to Thomas Coutts.

HORSE GUARDS,
August 28th, 1821.

DEAR SIR,

I have many thanks to return you for your letter as well as for your obliging attention in informing me of Lady Bute's intention to stop a day or two at the end of this week at Petersham upon her road to Dover. So that I trust before next Sunday I shall be able to call upon her and take leave of her before she sets out for her tour to the South of France, a pleasure it would have given me great regret if I had missed.

I think that you are quite right in making a tour with Mrs Coutts to Bath as soon as you are deprived of the society of your daughters, as I fear that residence at Salt Hill could not but be very dolefull [*sic*] under such circumstances.

I remain ever, Dear Sir, with best compliments to Mrs Coutts and kind regards to your daughters,

Yours most sincerely,

FREDERICK.

Thomas Coutts, Esqr.

[1] Lord Frederick Fitzclarence, born Dec. 9, 1795, married May 12, 1821, Lady Augustus Boyle, third daughter of George, fourth Earl of Glasgow.

Among other letters from royal personages which were preserved by Thomas Coutts, or his widow, are two in the handwriting of Caroline, Princess of Wales; one dated "Caprille (*i.e.* Villa Caprili at Pesaro) January 19, 1818," is a letter to Brougham; and a second, probably a covering letter, dated January 20, is addressed to Coutts. In both letters the Princess mentions the projected sale of her Villa (d'Este) on the Lake of Como to one Maniatti, to whom she owed a sum of seven thousand pounds. Brougham was the possessor as well as the diffuser of much useful knowledge, but it may be doubted if even he succeeded in unravelling the *entortillage* of the poor lady's debts and assets and obligations. Perhaps it was left to Coutts, and if he was baffled, to chance and death to untie the knot. But the opening lines of her letter to Brougham came from the heart, and spite of tangled and broken periods, bad spelling and French-English, they speak to the heart after many days.

CAPRILLE, 19*th of January*, 1818.

The Princess of Wales has just received Mr Brougham's letter, and losing no time of answering almost immediately:

She has been all her life a Child of misfortune and wretched and miserable for so many years that this last blow for her future prospects of life has been almost her death warren to her feelings—the rest of the few years which may perhaps be allotted to her by the Almighty is to be trusts it to *passe tranquille* without any father Persecution; and, forsooth, her Politiquel interest for England and also for Europe is now for ever a ende, and she most for ever look as a very severe punishment upon the English Nation, this dreadfull melancholique death of the hope and glorie of the Brittish Nation.

The Princess has written to Dr Bailie which was her Phisician formerly, and also to the ever departed Spirit of her ever Beloved Daughters, but she has not yet

received any answer from, except Lady Charlotte Lindsey and the present Lord Guilford—no English Personne from England nor upon the Continent have taken the least knowledge upon the dreadfull loss she ever could have made in every Respect present and future. The Princess shall now for the present wave the melancholy topic and shall now speake about her pecuniarie affairs. . . .

In his speech for "The Queen's Defence" which he delivered before the House of Lords, October 3rd 1820, Brougham emphasizes this tyranny of silence on the part of the authorities :—"Under this persecution and exclusion she still enjoyed one consolation—the knowledge that she possessed the affection of her child. The marriage of this child, which was known to all Europe, was a secret to Her Majesty. By an accident the Princess of Wales heard of her daughter's marriage, and by a like accident she heard of her death!" Even if it had been proved—and as yet there had been no trial—that the legal if not the lawful wife of the Prince Regent was not "as white as unsunned snow," it was surely the refinement of cruelty to withhold from a mother the formal announcement that her daughter had died in childbirth.

The "English Personnes" who had the courage and the grace to write to her, were brother and sister, Frederick, fifth Earl of Guilford, the Phil-Ellene, and Lady Charlotte Lindsay, who had been her Lady-in-Waiting, but had left her in March 1815. They were the children of the second Earl, known to history as Lord North.

Queen Caroline, during her wanderings on the Continent, had drawn her Parliamentary income through the agency of Coutts & Co., and had, no doubt, been encouraged to regard the senior partner as a loyal friend and possible protector. He was on her side and willing to befriend her, but, like other unfortunate persons, she did not scruple to ask for the one thing which could not be granted. The

following letter from Andrew Dickie, confidential clerk of the house in the Strand, and envoy to its Royal clients, relates with *perhaps* unconscious humour, a dexterous escape from the horns of a dilemma. Coutts was at the time laid up with a serious and almost fatal illness at Salt Hill. It must have been some compensation that No. 1 Stratton Street was in the hands of the painters and decorators.

STRAND, *7th June* 1820.
Wednesday, 5 *o'clock.*

DEAR SIR,

From the tenor of Lady Bute's few lines to me from Dover of yesterday I think it possible that her Ladyship may reach Canterbury this evening, but the Letter sent you this forenoon will probably speak more decidedly.

I have now to acquaint you of an Interview, which unexpectedly fell to my Lot to-day, to have with Her Majesty Queen Caroline. This morning I rece'd a Note from Mr Vansittart desiring to see me in Downing Street at 11 o'clock, where I was punctually to the time, and found Lord Liverpool, Mr Vansittart, Mr Huskisson and Mr Harrison together. Lord Liverpool informed me that it was desirable that a Communication should be made as speedily as possible to the Queen, and, being of a Pecuniary nature, his Lordship had considered the best mode of making it would be through the medium of her Majesty's Bankers, and therefore had sent to me, as being confidentially employed in your House, to request I would deliver the Communication alluded to (contained in a written Paper, which he would give me) to the Queen in Person. His Lordship then read to me the Paper, a copy of which I send annexed, and desired I would lose no time in delivering it as requested. Previous, however, to taking charge of it, I beg'd leave to ask his Lordship what was to be understood by the words "*any reasonable temporary advance,*" as it would be material for your House to know to what extent they might honor the

ANDREW DICKIE, ESQ., PARTNER IN THE BANK (1827)
From an oil painting in the possession of Messrs. Coutts & Co.

Queen's Dfts. under a Guarrantee from the Treasury. To this his Lordship observed it would be impossible to give a conclusive answer, as it would depend on circumstances, but that in addition to the Treasury Guarrantee already given for £1000, another would be given for £3000, making together £4000. This point being so far settled, I requested permission to go to the Strand to inform the House of the Business I was to be sent upon, and that I should immediately return to Downing Street. I did so, and proceeded direct to Alderman Wood's House in South Audley Street, where about 2000 People were about his Dwelling, and on my sending up my name, as coming from your House, I was immediately ordered up Stairs, into Her Majesty's presence, who rece'd me very kindly and with much good nature. After acquainting Her Majesty with my instructions, I delivered into her hands Lord Liverpool's memorandum which She read over, and desired me to thank his Lordship for the Communication. Her Majesty then made Enquiries concerning your own health and that of your family and expressed her regret at not having fallen in with Lady Bute in her Journey, etc., etc. I asked the Queen if She was then in want of money, to which She immediately replied in the affirmative and wished to have £1000 sent to her in various Notes, and She signed a Dft. for the amount, which Mr Marjoribanks delivered to Her Majesty this afternoon. The Queen expressed a great desire that you would allow Her and her few servants to occupy a few Rooms in your house (not in front) in the most retired part, as She could not stay longer than a day or two more at Alderman Wood's, who had very politely gone with his family to a Hotel 'till She could find apartments else where, and as you were out of Town, She hoped you would accomodate Her for a few days, only with Lodgings, for She had Her own Cook and would purchase all the necessaries She should want. As I could not help thinking that both You and Mrs Coutts would wish to be excused from such an honour, I took leave to tell Her Majesty that, however much disposed I was sure you would be to do any thing agreeable to Her, I very much feared it would be impossible

for you to comply with Her wishes in this respect, as the House was repairing, painting, etc., and could not afford suitable accommodation—in short I said all I could to prevent an application to you ; but Her Majesty would have Lady Anne Hamilton, who was present, write a note to you in Her name on the Subject, which She requested me to transmit to you this afternoon, tho' I told Her Majesty you were forbid by your Medical attendants to receive, or answer any Letters. This Note was not sealed (as I was desired to seal it before sending it) and is in the hands of Sir Edmund. I have, however, the pleasure to add that Mr Marjoribanks in seeing the Queen this afternoon has said as much to Her Majesty on this Subject as I hope will set it at rest—of which he will I believe inform you.—I have seen Lord Liverpool since my Interview with the Queen, and his Lordship approved, with thanks, what I had done. I have also got the Treasury Guarrantee for the additl. £3000—and, to a Question I took leave to put to Lord Liverpool what was to be done when the whole £4000 should be nearly exhausted, his Lordship desired he might be informed. I did not think myself entitled to say so much to Lord Liverpool, but I could not help saying to Mr Harrison that it is a pity Government has not taken care of the *House* part, as well as the *money* part—it might have been prevented the remarks of ill-disposed People, and even of those who are well-disposed.—Mr H. seemed to be of the same opinion. I have to apologise for troubling you with so long a letter, but could not well make it shorter.

Your most faithful
humble servant,
A. Dickie.
Pray turn over.

Copy.

The Earl of Liverpool has received His Majesty's Commands to state that under the present circumstances, and until Parliament shall have come to some Decision on the Business now depending, an allowance will be continued to The Queen conformably to the Provision

made by Parliament in 1814, which has now expired by His late Majesty's demise. And if the Queen should require any reasonable temporary advance with a view to providing Herself with a Residence, any application to this effect will be submitted by the Earl of Liverpool to His Majesty.

FIFE HOUSE,
7 June, 1820.

CHAPTER XXIII

THOMAS COUTTS AND THE DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE

"Splendour's fondly-fostered child."
Ode by S. T. COLERIDGE.

OF the home-life of Coutts and his family during the first five years of the nineteenth century there is no continuous record. He had exchanged the old home in the Strand over "the shop" for his statelier mansion at the corner of Stratton Street, but, as time went on, sorrow and vexation and perplexity crossed his threshold, pressing each other's footsteps in dismal succession.

The death of his little grandson, Frederick Augustus, which preceded and, perhaps, hastened the death of his son-in-law, Lord Guilford, overshadowed the early spring of 1802, and close upon the heels of this domestic sorrow followed the anxiety and discredit of the Brentford Election, which resulted in the withdrawal of official countenance and lucrative patronage. A heavier and more poignant sorrow, harder to bear because it had to be concealed, was wholly due to the selfishness and misconduct of Sir Francis Burdett. Husband and wife did not quarrel or separate. The wife forgave, the husband repented, but to little purpose, and there were times when the cup overflowed and the father's just indignation found vent in words. From one daughter he was separated by marriage, a second, who lived under his roof, was a widow, and the third and youngest, who lived next door, was cruelly if not despitefully used. His wife, who was older than himself, was an invalid in mind as well as in

body and must have ceased to be a support or comfort to his declining years. He possessed the attractions and distractions of work and wealth, but they afforded him but little consolation. He lived for the indulgence of his affections, and when these were thwarted or discomfited he was as a ship without a rudder. The romance of his old age, which at first sight seems to reverse if not to discredit the dignity and serenity of his early and middle life, originated in domestic trouble and disappointment:—

> "He loved no other place, and yet
> Home was no home to him!"

Before the scene changes and we enter upon the "last phase"—the story of an old man's love—two questions connected with the Bank, but unconnected with each other, await discussion—the relation of Coutts & Co. to their clients, Lord Melville, and his paymaster, Alexander Trotter, and the relations of Thomas Coutts to his friend and client, Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire; and, *place aux dames*!

Georgiana, elder daughter of John, first Earl Spencer, by his wife, Margaret Georgiana, daughter of the Right Honourable Stephen Poyntz, was born June 9, 1757. Not yet turned seventeen, she was married to William, fifth Duke of Devonshire, June 6, 1774, and died March 30, 1806, before she had completed her fiftieth year. She has passed into history as a great Whig hostess and wire-puller of the Opposition, and into legend—though it may have been gospel truth—as the vendor or exchanger of a vote for a kiss. She composed better verses, both grave and gay, than most of her contemporaries who passed for poets. Her stanzas on "The Passage of the Mountain of St Gothard," which were published in *The Morning Post*, December 21, 1799, inspired, or at any rate induced, Coleridge to eulogize her in an "Ode to Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire." He does not extol her verses, which are almost as good as his

own, but her domestic virtues and her Alpine climbing were, for a Duchess, as surprising as they were meritorious. She has also been credited by her grandson, the late Mr F. Leveson Gower, with a dramatized version of Miss Lee's *Kruitzner, or The German's Tale*, which Byron, with some additions of his own, published as *Werner, or The Inheritance*. There is better ground for believing that she was the author of a novel, *The Sylph*, published in Dublin in 1779, which turns on the unhappy marriage of the heroine. But so far as may be judged from a long series of her letters published in *The Anglo-Saxon Review* in 1899, and from her most valuable and interesting "Diary" which she kept in 1778-9, when there was prospect of a Regency, she knew how to write verses, but let her prose take care of itself. Her letters are gay and readable, but, for better or worse, they lack style, while the "Diary"[1] does not pretend to be more than a sheaf of notes.

Apart from her personality, her published writings, though creditable and remarkable, were not of sufficient importance to have outlived her own generation. She is remembered because she looked the part which she had the wit to play. She has come down to us as she was painted by Gainsborough and Reynolds, by Bartolozzi and Downman. We should recognize her if she passed us in her chariot; but it was not only their art or her beauty which have made her face familiar, but the quality of her aspect and expression. Mrs Robinson, a beautiful woman and, possibly, a greater poetess, sat to the same great artists, and there the likeness ends. We know her portraits, but "look and likeness" are not impressed on the memory. The Duchess was of no such perishable stuff. Her "dual nature," in which sense alternated with sensibility, is finely depicted by Mr Sichel in his *Life of Sheridan*.[2] He has read, so he tells us, "hundreds of her letters throughout her career, and from first to last her moods are as varied as the months which

[1] *Sheridan*. By W. Sichel, 1909, ii. 399-426. [2] *Ibid.*, 464-466.

display them. Now she is scholar, now coquette; by turns rake and recluse; highly cultivated and quick-witted, yet hesitating in judgment; at once a gambler and an innocent." Dual natures, at best a dangerous inheritance, are born not made, but circumstance determines their fate. The Duchess never had a chance from the first. Married at seventeen, she sought for sympathy and distraction in passionate friendship and in the great world which welcomed her with open arms.

It is no secret that "free Nature's uncorrupted child," as Coleridge acclaimed her, was, for many years of her life, an habitual and reckless gambler. Rogers, in his *Table Talk*, (p. 191), published in 1856, is reported to have said that "she indulged in it (*i.e.* gaming) and was made miserable by her debts. A faro table was kept by Martindale, at which the Duchess and other high fashionables used to play. Sheridan said that the Duchess and Martindale had agreed that whatever they two won from each other should be sometimes *double*, sometimes *treble*, the sum which it was called; and Sheridan assured me that he had handed the Duchess into her carriage when she was literally sobbing, she perhaps having lost £1500 when it was supposed to be only £500."

The figures are hypothetical, but the high stakes and the ruinous losses were actual facts. Mr Walter Sichel, in his *Sheridan* (1909, i. 146) incorporates the substance of this paragraph in his text, and in the Appendix (ii. 432-3) prints a letter from Sheridan to the Duchess (? 1792), in which he explains how far he had succeeded in rescuing from a punter named Martindale papers and documents of a compromising nature which the Duchess had given as securities. Martindale was inclined to shuffle, and it was only by threatening him with an application from the Duchess's brother, Lord Spencer, and from Coutts, that he extracted a disclaimer of the validity of these documents. The date of these negotiations is uncertain, but the possible

intervention of Lord Spencer points to something more than a promise of reform on the part of the Duchess. The day of reckoning had come and further concealment was impossible. Coutts had been in her confidence at a much earlier period when she owed much, but a turn of luck might keep the game in her own hands.

Mr Sichel is the authority for the statement (*Sheridan*, i. 146) that he volunteered his services in an "obsequious letter . . . begging her to let him arrange her affairs, and profit at the same time by a transfer of her accounts." Of this letter I can say nothing, but the letters which appear for the first time in these volumes are, certainly, the letters of a man of business to a very great lady. It was not the custom toward the close of the eighteenth century (is it now ?) for bankers to write to duchesses, or, indeed, to their social equals or inferiors, *tout court*, and without a formal acknowledgment of style and title. He minds his manners, the manners of his day, but he is by no means obsequious. Again, we are told (*ibid.*, p. 1) that he was "evidently flattered when she signed herself 'Yours affectionately.'" But as he, or his forefathers, might have retorted, "And, wherefore, no"! The Duchess of Devonshire was not only the highest of "high fashionables," but she was one of those fair women whose charm is of the nature of genius. They belong to history—"For Death, he taketh all away, but them he cannot take." Coutts might be excused if he was a little flattered by honeyed words which were the reward not only of a "grant in aid," but of unbought and unbuyable sympathy and admiration. If Coutts in the first instance offered to help the Duchess to pay her debts, afterwards and for some years to come the Duchess was the petitioner, and pleadingly "asked for more." Once when Coutts was in Paris, in 1788 or 1789, she sent off a messenger express to implore him to come to the rescue—"her life depended on the issue." For a while he hesitated—enough and too much had been done already—but at the instance of

his wife, he relented, and once more the rock flowed. For this and other loans the Duchess out of her own resources found the interest. At length, in 1790 or 1791, the crash came, and the Duke, though there was no legal obligation, made himself responsible for the principal of the sum due to Coutts. Nothing was said about interest, which up to that date had been regularly paid; but when, some years later, a plan was drawn up for the liquidation of the capital and the Duke observed that the interest which had accrued in the meanwhile was included, Coutts objected and reserved that "article for further consideration." The fact was that the Duchess had concealed from her husband her liability for interest, and as his repayment of capital was an act of favour, he felt that at any rate for the time he had done enough.

The Duchess died in 1806, and in 1811 the Duke died also, but though every penny of the principal had been paid off, the interest which had accrued from the date of the first guarantee remained unpaid. There was, however, a sort of security. Two or three years before her death, the Duchess, whose conscience never ceased to prick her for what she had left undone, was moved to write two letters, one to her husband, dated September 2, 1801, and another to her son, Lord Hartington, then a lad of thirteen. The letter to her husband is a general statement of her regard and affection for Mr Coutts, and expresses the hope that if she dies before her debts are paid, the Duke will clear her memory "from the load of leaving anyone a sufferer by me." In the letter to her son, now published for the first time, she admits that a large sum for interest is due, and begs him, come what might, to take care that it is paid. The letters were left with Coutts, but were only to be disclosed after her death in the event that her debts had not been paid. No use was made of them during the lifetime of the fifth Duke, but in May 1812 copies were forwarded to his son and successor. A correspondence followed, and after

some, but not much, "further consideration," the sum due for interest was finally discharged in full. It is to be remarked that, in spite of the delicacy of the situation, the Duke did not withhold his goodwill from his mother's friend and, as she maintained, unselfish benefactor.

There is nothing very surprising in the subterfuges of the Duchess. She was an enchanting creature, with a mind and heart touched to all finer issues, but she could not live without excitement and, as judged by herself, she fell from her high estate; and her punishment was that she could not and did not excuse herself. My impression is that Coutts felt that there was a case against him. It was true that at great risk, great inconvenience, and also some loss, he rescued a lady of high degree, a general favourite, from ruin and disgrace. A banker does not lock up a large sum of money for twenty or thirty years, even if he expects in the long run to be paid, together with simple, or, as the Duchess writes, "common" interest. But he was not her banker, and he ought not to have lent her a single sixpence except on marketable security, and with the knowledge and assent of her husband. He was induced, so he says, to befriend her in the first instance in consideration of an almost boyish acquaintance with her mother, Lady Spencer, and her aunt, Mrs Poyntz, and afterwards, on the strength of her "statements," he was drawn on by one step to another to a very large advance of money. Meanwhile he was using every means in his power to recover and rescue her from her gaming habits. But the Duchess might have said the same thing; she, too, was drawn on. The fact was that he could not resist the tears and importunities of beauty in distress. It was not the Duchess but the woman who silenced his scruples and overcame his prudence. That was the price he had to pay for what he calls the "peculiar sensibility of his heart" with regard to these transactions. The two dukes, father and son, who were the chief sufferers,

" need no apology." They kept the traditions of their birth and state and behaved right honourably.

Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, to her son, Lord Hartington.

December, 1804.

MY DEAR HARTINGTON,

Mr Coutts has a most just and fair demand upon me for £5520 19s. due to him ever since Christmas 1798, being the common interest of a sum he lent me in my distress, on motives the most liberal, kind and disinterested, and alas! deceived also by my hope of immediate repayment; which, to my unspeakable grief, I was unable to fulfil and therefore have to reproach myself with leading him to this great loss.

The principal of this debt was paid in 1798, and the duke took time to consider of the interest. Should the debt still remain when this paper reaches you, I most earnestly entreat you to relieve me from the suspence and anxiety I must feel whilst this loss to Mr Coutts continues. He is exerting himself now for final arrangement of my debts, and (tho' to his great inconvenience) has advanced £4000 more on your Father's bond. Should this paper reach you after my death, I equally entreat your attention to it, as never could any thing equal the kind services of Mr Coutts, and nothing can be more painful to me than such a friend losing by me. I trust, therefore, that in *whatever circumstances this letter may find you*, should the debt be still unpaid, you will exert all your influence with the Duke of Devonshire, or take upon yourself (if in your power) a debt of such a peculiar nature—the interest must be allowed on the £5520 19s. from 1798. I also urge you thro' Life to consider Mr Coutts as one who was my best friend, and by his services to me was in fact the best friend of your family's.

Your affec^ate^ Mother,

G. DEVONSHIRE.

(Endorsed)

To the Marquis of Hartington, to be deliver'd on his coming of age, or in the event of my death.

G. DEVONSHIRE

Alexander Trotter and the Impeachment of Lord Melville

The Trial by Impeachment of Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, for "High Crimes and Misdemeanours," which lasted from April 29th to May 17th, 1806, brought "the Shop" in the Strand before the notice of the public in a manner and to an extent which must have cost the Senior Partner some anxious self-communings. The principal charge against Lord Melville was that while Treasurer of the Navy (1784-1800) he had converted money issued for the service of the Navy to his own use, or to some other corrupt and illegal purposes, and that he, directly or indirectly, had speculated with the proceeds of Navy Bills which should have stood and have remained to his credit in the ledgers of the Bank of England. Lord Melville had opened at least three several accounts with Coutts & Co., and in the course of the Trial his bankers were compelled to produce these accounts and submit them to a public scrutiny. But whatever opinion they may have formed of the source of his income, their responsibility began and ended with the custody of the sums paid into his credit. He was a great officer of State, in receipt of more than one official income, the husband of a wealthy heiress; and whatever questions might be put to him, their withers were unwrung.

But there was another customer of the Bank, Lord Melville's Paymaster, Alexander Trotter, Esq. of Dreghorn, who had been already examined by the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, and was one of the principal witnesses at the Trial, whose admission with regard to his own use of unclaimed balances belonging to the public funds[1] might or might not exonerate Lord Melville, but left no doubt that he had invested the credits at his disposal, and accumulated a large fortune by the process. He had no less than

[1] *Vide* "Lord Melville's Examination," pp. 191 and 192 of the *Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry*.

HENRY, VISCOUNT MELVILLE
From a medallion in porcelain in the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland

five accounts with Coutts & Co., and his balances, positive and negative, were to be proclaimed on the house top. Trotter was doubly connected with Thomas Coutts both by birth and by marriage, and he was an elder brother of Coutts Trotter, who had been a clerk in the Navy Pay Office, but had entered the Bank as a third partner in 1796. He had begun life as a Navy Agent on his own account, obtained a clerkship in the Navy Pay Office at £50 a year, and on Coutts' recommendation, supported by Pitt and Sir G. Elliott, had been appointed by Dundas Paymaster of the Navy in 1786. His official salary was £500 a year, and both by marriage and inheritance he became possessed of a moderate private fortune. In 1806, when he was examined by the Managers of the Trial by Impeachment, he swore on affidavit that his real and personal property amounted to £51,365. He admitted that he had made the bulk of his fortune by transferring public money from the Bank of England to his own credit at Coutts', making such payments to annuitants and others as became due, and investing the unclaimed balances " into Exchequer and Navy Bills and other Government Securities, and, generally, by lending it at interest."

The money did not remain long at Coutts', nor did he receive, as Lord Melville was pleased to think, a penn'orth of interest for his floating account, which was treated precisely in the same way as that of a private customer. So far as Coutts & Co. were concerned, he was a private customer. His speculations were almost invariably successful, and, in spite of the fact that public money which ought to have remained in the Bank of England, was drawn out and deposited at Coutts' and drawn out of Coutts' for transactions on the Stock Exchange, Trotter maintained—and no doubt with truth—as shown by the books of his office—that " the public had in no one instance suffered any loss, obstruction or delay in the payments from the use that had been made of public money, or the manner in which he kept his balances elsewhere than in the Bank." But the fact remained that

out of the one hundred and thirty millions of money which had passed through Lord Melville's hands whilst he was Treasurer of the Navy fifteen millions had at different times been deposited by the Paymaster " in a bank."

The House of Lords acquitted Melville by a majority of votes on all the charges which had been brought against him, and Mr Alexander Trotter, who had stood between his principal and the penalty of his alleged misdoings, though he was finally discharged from office, escaped prosecution. Nothing succeeds like success, and his irregularities, to which he had frankly and manfully confessed, were passed over, if not formally condoned. Apart from these financial divagations, he was described by Mr Horner, counsel for the defence, as " a meritorious man and one who ought to be trusted—a person beloved by his family and respected by his relatives. He was a gentleman not only of creditable but of opulent connections, the son of a wealthy banker, and the brother of a partner in the firm of Coutts & Co., a man in all other parts of his character in private and public life, free from all imputation." But, even so, the irregularities were placed on record, and though Whitbread in his opening address to the Managers (*i.e.* the Joint-Committee of Impeachment) had admitted that the money was not exposed to loss by being at Messrs Coutts, " where it might be as safe as anywhere else," Messrs Coutts must have sung a Nunc Dimittis when their ledgers which contained the many and various Melville-cum-Trotter accounts, were restored to their shelves.

After Melville had ceased to be Treasurer Alexander Trotter retained his office as Paymaster for two years, at first under Dudley Ryder (first Earl of Harrowby) and, afterwards, under Bragge Bathurst. A year later Tierney, who succeeded Bathurst, dispensed with his services, but Canning, who became treasurer in May 1804, at once reinstated him, unsolicited and with every expression of confidence and goodwill. In April 1805 he quitted the Navy

Pay Office for good and all. During the remainder of his life, except for the years when he was at Florence studying architecture, he lived on his estate at Dreghorn. He was a prominent member of the House of Agriculture and published a valuable work on farm book-keeping. Among other pursuits and projects of his later years was a scheme for connecting the old and new towns of Edinburgh. He had been appointed Deputy-Lieutenant of Midlothian by Henry, Duke of Buccleuch, in 1803, and again in 1839 by his successor, Francis, the fifth Duke.

History has little or nothing to say of Thomas Coutts though he had not a little to do with the making of history. Kings and princes and prime ministers took his advice and took his money. To some extent they depended upon his goodwill; to some extent they stood in with him. He was an influence if not a power in the commonwealth. But he kept in the background, and lived, so far as was possible, the life of a private person. In writing his life it was necessary to dwell at some length on his financial relations with his client, Alexander Trotter, whose name is known to history solely in connection with Lord Melville's examination and impeachment. Whether Melville was guilty or innocent, it is impossible to read the debates which preceded and formed part of his trial without perceiving that motives of policy procured his impeachment and that motives of policy procured his acquittal. Trotter was a pawn in the political game of chess between the high contending parties and he was given and taken back and given up again as they devised the gambit. It is only fair to the memory of a man who was honoured in his place and in his generation to put him once more in the witness box, and let him speak for himself. "I have not only faithfully and dutifully served my superior in office, but I have helped to reconstruct and reform my department. Thousands of sailors and of sailors' widows owe the regular payment of their pay or pensions to the regulations which I instituted when I was a clerk in the

Navy Pay Office and before I was appointed Paymaster. For seventeen years and more I was the acting manager of an important Government office, and over and above my salary of £500 a year I did not cost the country a penny. As to my irregularities, so-called, I had every right to regard myself as banker rather than accountant to the State, and as banker I discharged my liabilities to the uttermost farthing. The Act of 1785, for which Lord Melville was responsible, abolished certain abuses and prescribed certain forms with regard to the disposal of funds issued for the Navy. The abuses were discontinued, the forms were faithfully observed.

"That Act did not prohibit the Paymaster from transferring public credits from the Bank of England to a private account, or from deriving emoluments from the unclaimed balances. I speak by the card, for two years after I ceased to be Paymaster an Act was passed (G. III. 38, Ap. 17, 1807) which expressly forbade a mode of procedure which had hitherto been regarded as permissible. I made no secret of my financial transactions, which were known to ministers of state, and everybody whom it might concern, and when I was assailed in the press and denounced by the Managers of the Impeachment I received from such men as Sir George Rose, Sir Samuel Shepherd, and last but not least my relative, Thomas Coutts, the assurance of their unabated confidence and esteem. I appeal from party prejudice and party chicanery to the reasoned judgment of men of honour and of unquestioned integrity."

In her will, dated March 14, 1837, the Duchess of St Albans expressly directed that "no son or descendant of Alexander Trotter of Dreghorn, near Edinburgh, Esquire, be admitted as a partner in the said banking-house," a stipulation in no way due to the events of 1806, but, most probably, to be accounted for by the fact that in 1824 the partners had declined to accept her nominee, and that two years later she retaliated by exercising her veto when Sir Coutts Trotter

ALEXANDER TROTTER OF DREGHORN
From a pencil sketch in the possession of Messrs. Coutts & Co.

wished to introduce his nephew, Alexander Trotter[1] the younger, as partner on his retirement. Pressure was brought to bear, but the lady was inexorable, and neither forgot nor forgave the rejection of her protégé. None the less "the sons and descendants" of the Paymaster prospered and made their mark in the world. His eldest son, Henry Dundas Trotter, won distinction as a naval officer and rose to be Rear-Admiral, and a grandson, the Reverend Coutts Trotter, as Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, was a prominent educational reformer. Alexander Trotter of Dreghorn died in 1842 in his eighty-eighth year.

CORRESPONDENCE

July 5, 1803—*October* 2, 1806

I

Thomas Coutts to the Earl of Guilford.

STRAND, LONDON,
July 5th, 1803.

MY LORD,

I have a favour to ask of Your Lordship for Mrs Coutts, as well as for myself.

She would wish to be buried in your family vault at Wroxton, where your late brother and his infant son are laid, and it would be a further consolation to her if she thought I might also sleep there.

However you may smile at these fancys, perhaps you will incline to indulge an old pair, who having lived near

[1] Readers of Crabb Robinson's *Diary* (1870, iii., 64) and of Wordsworth's Poems (See "Elegiac Stanzas," P.W. ed. 1896, vi., 371-376) will remember that Alexander Trotter the younger, then a youth of nineteen or twenty, was a fellow-student and companion of the young American, Frederic William Goddard, who met the Wordsworths at Lucerne in August 1820, and was drowned "two days afterwards" in the Lake of Zurich.

half a century together, do not now like the idea of separation, and, at any rate, I hope you will pardon the liberty I take in asking it.

I have been enquiring for a seaside retirement for Lady Guilford and her infants, as she wishes to go to such a place for a month or two.

In the course of enquiring I had some correspondence respecting Ilfracomb, and was, by a letter from thence, informed your Lordship had taken a house there.

Can you inform me what sort of place it is ? and whether it is likely to be convenient for a short residence ? and if the bathing is good ?

I am,
My Lord, with sincere respects,
Your Lordship's most
Faithful Servant,
THOMAS COUTTS.

II

Charles James Fox to Thomas Coutts.

CHERTSEY,
July 22nd, 1803.

MY DEAR SIR,

I return you Mr Ferguson's letter, for which I am much obliged to you. Having an opportunity I wrote yesterday to General Berthier (Minister of War) in favour of Mr Ferguson and another gentleman whose friends had applied to me, and have little doubt but he will do what he can for them. . . .

With regard to the other part of Mr Ferguson's letter, I once told you, and most sincerely, that to be a Minister was as far from my wish as it was out of my reach, but there have been moments in the course of these last eight months when I should have wished to have some power, because I own that I *think* I could not only have saved the country from the miseries of the present War, but have made such arrangements as to give us a rational prospect of durable peace, and that I should from particular circumstances have had advantages for such an

object which others have not. However, the Doctor[1] has spoiled all, and whether any body could do much good *now* I doubt, so that I am nearly got back to my former way of thinking, and am not sorry that there is no chance of my advice being called for.

My Wife desires to be kindly remembered to you. Pray give my best respects to Mrs Coutts and believe me, my dear Sir,

Your ever obliged friend and servant,
C. J. Fox.

St Anne's Hill,
Friday.

III

Thomas Coutts to Caleb Whitefoord.

Ilfracombe,
October 7th, 1803.

My dear Sir,

I have many thanks to return for your political opinions. I am inclined to think it a very ruinous policy in this country to carry on a merely defensive war. English ground is the worst on which we can fight France, and the character of the Consul is such that I suppose we must fight him somewhere—not that I think there is any common sense in his invading England. His best plan would be for ever to make us expect him, but never to come. He might ruin and even conquer us that way, if we are governed by weak inefficient Ministers; but with clever men at the helm, I think we should invade France, and make foreign alliances. Whenever we show a little of the spirit of Lord Chatham we will have allies enough. Lady Bute writes me they have certain intelligence of their intention to land in Glamorganshire; a friend of mine at Newcastle writes me the invasion will be there.

[1] Henry Addington, first Viscount Sidmouth (1757-1844), who was at this time First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was the son of Anthony Addington (1713-1790), a London physician of some eminence. Hence his nickname "the Doctor."

They are expected at Edinburgh, and even at Inverness, and we hear of constant threatning by every foreign mail; meanwhile we are overwhelmed with expence, and France is at none at all.

I was mentioning here that you was about building a house near Hastings. Lady Guilford observed that she was there last year and thought it a pretty sea situation. Mrs Coutts advised that you should have a care of allowing sea sand to be used in the mortar as no time ever drys it—which she knows by experience.

Wherever you may be, or may reside, that you may enjoy health and happiness will ever be the hearty wish of

Yours most sincerely,
T. COUTTS.

IV

Thomas Coutts to John Home.

IN DEVONSHIRE,
YOULSTON, NEAR BARNSTAPLE,
October 25th, 1803.

MY DEAR SIR,

I understand Lord Moira is going to command the forces in Scotland. He is himself an host and everything depends on a brave and able leader. I daresay you are acquainted with him; if not you ought to be, and I hope you will. He is a particular friend of mine and if you like to deliver him the inclosed line of introduction I am sure you will be well received: if you are already acquainted you may throw my note into the fire. Lady Guilford will go to Bristol the beginning of next month and I shall attend her with Mrs Coutts. We are all now at a beautiful seat and park of Sir John Chichester's for a few days. It is near ten miles from Ilfracombe and in the very finest part of England.

The people retain the old English manners and hospitality, and I do not know which to admire most, the beautiful woods and pastoral valleys or the tremendous rocks and beautiful sea-views everywhere round us.

They have here the stag or red-deer and the moor fowl

or growse (*sic*), tho' the latter have grown scarce within the last few years. Mrs Coutts and Lady Guilford send their best wishes. A packet going over the Channel to Lady Bute at Cardiff, I will send this to her to be franked by Lord Bute as there is no members of Parliament here, and my letter is not worth paying postage for. As to INVASION? *Still* all the world cries, "It is now a-coming!" but I have never believed Buonaparte will do more than threaten. He may perhaps make some attempt on Ireland in the winter, but I flatter myself if he does, our fleet will overtake them where his defeat will be unavoidable.

Remember us to Mrs Home,
and believe me, my dear Sir,
Your affectionate,
Hum^e^ servant,
T. COUTTS.

V

Thomas Coutts to the Right Honourable William Pitt.

HADSPEN, NR. BRUTON,
January 22nd, 1805.

SIR,

I have been in a very dangerous situation of health from a violent fever which seized me at Bath, where I was on a visit to Lord and Lady Guilford. I have, however, I hope, got over it, and have been a fortnight with a friend of mine in the neighbourhood for the benefit of recovery and gaining strength.

Here I have received a letter from the Duke of Orleans[1] dated at Halifax, November the 20th, informing me he had through the Duke of Kent solicited the Duke of Portland for leave to pass to the continent through England, and requesting of me to have letters laying for him at Falmouth and Liverpool [Leverpoole in MS.], where he

[1] Long years after, when he was King of the French, and again when he was an exile and a guest of this country, he maintained close and markedly friendly relations with the partners of the Bank. His letters are preserved among their treasured possessions.

hopes soon to arrive. He also desires to have Letters of Credit, which I shall readily furnish him.

I have had the pleasure to be very intimately acquainted with this young man before the Revolution, and constantly by letters ever since, and have the greatest reason to think highly not only of his understanding and accomplishments, but of the goodness of his heart and principles, and would be very sorry to refuse any request he made me.

In this remote situation and not being able yet to return to town, I am, however, at a loss and think fit to lay the matter before you, in hopes you will direct me how far I may with propriety furnish him with money, or whether it is necessary to apply to the Duke of Portland for a licence, which, however, I do not wish to do unless I was confident it was a thing of course not to be refused.

I hope my weak state will be an apology for my errors and inaccuracies, and that with your usual goodness to me you will forgive the liberty of this letter.

I am, Sir [&c., &c.],

THOMAS COUTTS.

My direction will be best at Bath.

VI

Thomas Coutts to the Right Honourable William Pitt.

STRAND, *December 21st*, 1805.

SIR,

The warm interest I take in the family of Mr Marjoribanks, for whom I have had a progressive affection for near half a century, formed on my knowledge of their uncommon good qualities, induces me to write this letter, as the fate of the India Election is of infinite consequence to several of them—more than even to the candidate himself. But I would not recommend him in the warm way I wish to do to you, if I was not confident he is at least as capable of the duties of the situation he aspires

to, as his opponent, and also that he is a thorough honourable man who never will forget or prove ungrateful for any favour done him. The Court of Directors have yesterday determined to recommend a candidate—and to meet on Friday next to fix upon and declare their choice, on which will depend the fate of the election. If, therefore, you would have the goodness to signify a wish to Lord Castlereagh and to Mr Smith, the Deputy-Chairman, I really believe it would decide the matter at once in favour of Mr Marjoribanks, to whom I have some reason to think Lord Castlereagh is not ill inclined.

I am fearful of being troublesome or being thought impertinent in making this request, and I hope I am as little forward and presuming as any man, yet I flatter myself always with the honour of your friendship, and with the belief that you would be inclined to indulge me in a matter where I am so anxiously desirous of success, providing you can do it with propriety; and, if you cannot, I am sure my respect for you in your situation would not allow me to desire it.

I am, Sir, with sincere esteem,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

THOMAS COUTTS.

VII

Thomas Coutts to the Right Honourable W. Windham.

Windham Papers, Vol. ii., *f.* 270.

Mr Coutts does not know any person under a complaint similar to Mr Fox's (as it is reported to be) having taken Colonel Riddell's medicine, but Colonel Riddell is himself very sanguine as to the good effect it would produce on him.

Mr Coutts has known a great many instances of its producing the most salutary effects. He was three weeks at Luton while Lady Bute took it constantly. Lord Bute

took it once or twice and I took it myself once. Not only in these instances, but in a great many others, I have witnessed it being used with the most uncommon success, clearing everything away without lowering or tearing, as most purgatives do, and giving instead, increased appetite and spirits. I am quite persuaded so far as clearing the body he has hit upon a mode of preparing and administering his medicines in the most effectual and agreeable manner. Sir Francis Burdett came to Cheltenham in May 1805, not able to walk across the room, and constantly having become worse under Dr Baillie and other highly reputed Doctors in London. His cure was so quick as to be almost miraculous; so were two other gentlemen at the same time whom I saw at Cheltenham.

Mr Crawford at Hyde Park Corner and Mr James Farrer of Lincoln's Inn Fields are now taking it, and though I do not believe either case can be cured entirely, they have both received benefit and will attest the agreeable effects of the purgative. I was so impressed with the idea that it might be serviceable to Mr Fox, and even that he might be cured, that I wrote to Mrs Fox from Luton;[1] but there could be no hope of his trying it if the regular physicians were to be consulted. It is impossible they should ever advise his trying it, though there is conviction that there is no danger in the trial. . . .

Lady Holland called in the Strand yesterday with Mr Pigot, and proposed going to Morris Hotel, Oxford Street, opposite Bond Street, to inquire after Colonel Riddell. I do not know if she found him, or if he is still in town, for he was here in the morning yesterday and talked in my shop of his leaving it. The bearer of this is going to inquire.

I most sincerely wish Mr Fox may give the trial, and nobody can be more interested than I am in his recovery.

I have written this in much hurry, and confusion of people about me, but will wait on you and be happy to give every information in my power. At present I am going out, but I shall be at home here at three o'clock.

[1] Luton Hoe Park, the seat of his son-in-law the Marquis of Bute.

VIII

Viscount Howick to Lord Grenville.

Dropmore MSS.; Vol. viii.

1806, *October 2nd*, ADMIRALTY.

" It is some time since I sent an assurance to Mr Coutts the secret service money of the Foreign Office should be kept in his house."

[Enclosure.]

Thomas Coutts to Viscount Howick.

1806, *September 18th*, STRAND.

" You will recollect the unhandsome and unjust manner in which the official money of the Foreign Secretary and the War Department were ordered to be removed from my house on account of Sir Francis Burdett's election, and the uneasiness it gave me at the time. I was gratified by its being returned to me by poor Mr Fox, and I have been told Mr Windham also means his should be returned. I should wish it might be continued by whoever is destined to the office, and I take the liberty of mentioning it to your lordship, as your recommendation will no doubt be attended to and will do me much honour."

CHAPTER XXIV

HARRIOT MELLON

"A dancing shape, an image gay."

INCONSISTENCY is the "badge of all our tribe." Sooner or later, more or less, the ruling passion in men's lives is overruled, and the unexpected happens. The saint is overtaken by a fault, the man of blood and iron melts and shrinks, the coward shows fight, the fool rises to the opportunity, the man of the world throws prudence to the winds. To that extent and even so in the course of fourscore years, Tom Coutts swerved from the path on which his feet were set. He was not double-minded, but he was double-natured, whole-heartedly a man of business and whole-heartedly a man of sentiment. Business was business and it never occurred to him that it was not worth while to make money and to go on making money, but side by side with these self-regarding activities there was the passion for romance, and recklessness of consequences, where the affections were concerned. He was a moral man from his youth upward. There were plenty of onlookers to spy out a joint in his armour, plenty to bear him a grudge, and as he grew in wealth and reputation he was exposed to the curiosity and envy of scandal-mongers, but until he had long passed his seventieth year, there was never a whisper to his discredit. In his twenty-eighth year he had married a maid-servant, a woman older than himself, whom he loved better than wealth or social esteem, and to her he clave for close upon fifty years with unfaltering loyalty and devotion. After repeated attacks of illness

her brain gave way, and when he was practically alone in the world, for his daughters were married, he fell in love again, perhaps more passionately than before, and for ten long years while his wife survived, and during the seven years of his second marriage he was friend, servant and lover of the comedy actress, Harriot Mellon. Everyone is familiar with the outlines of the story. It caught the fancy of the public almost from the first, and it formed the subject of pamphlets and memoirs of a more or less inaccurate and scandalous description. Now for the first time it is possible to illustrate the story with original documents and to let the strangely assorted pair of lovers speak for themselves.

Not only are the documents indisputably genuine, but they seem to have been preserved, as a whole, for their own sakes and without any reference, apparently, to the curiosity or the judgment of posterity.

It might have been a finer story if the lonely old man had suffered the misery and desolation of his home without finding a refuge and a solace in the companionship and love of a young and beautiful woman ; but there is not a shadow of proof or evidence that he was unfaithful to the wife of his youth. To obtain that solace he ran a great risk, and paid a heavier price than he had a right to pay, but the scandal began and ended in the imagination of the scandal-mongers.

All that is known or can be ascertained of the origin and early history of Harriot Mellon is contained in the *Memoirs of Harriot Duchess of St Albans*, published by Mrs Cornwell Barron-Wilson in 1840. These so-called *Memoirs* contain chapters of the nature of an autobiography and, allowing for the fact that the Duchess is her own chronicler and apologist, there is no reason to doubt the general accuracy of the greater part of the narrative. Mrs Barron-Wilson (born Margaret Herries), who was already known as a journalist and as the editress of the *Life and Correspondence* of 'Monk" Lewis, was merely a compiler and redactor. In

her Preface she tells us " that the materials from which the following pages have been compiled were collected for and entrusted to me for examination and arrangement." The facts and incidents were communicated by the Duchess herself to an earlier memorialist, Miss Louisa Sheridan [1] who must have committed them to writing as they fell from the lips of her august patroness whom she describes as the " best, the dearest friend she had on earth." It would seem that in 1837 it required some courage for a " female " to advocate the cause or prove the innocence of one who had been " so fearfully and falsely calumniated." " You are, of course, aware," she writes to a friend, " that I am preparing the *Memoirs of the Duchess of St Albans*, a severe undertaking, but if Heaven spares me my health, I shall make the TRUTH triumphant. . . . From your long friendship for me, my dear Miss Madden, I know your first kind impulse will be a fear that my Affection for her is leading me into a perilous task, perchance involving my own unblemished name with one which unfortunately has not so thoroughly escaped animadversion.

" Anticipating your kind solicitude, I am happy to say I have taken proper precautions before I hazarded what is dearer to me than life, my literary and social good name. I have written to well-informed parties, friends and foes of the Duchess, respecting her connexion with Mr Coutts, and they ALL unite in perfect assurance as to its purity, *giving me permission to print these letters in full* in my book ! You see I do not say merely for vanity that no one else *could* do this ; but the fact is if a *male* writer had undertaken it these *noblemen* would not have lent their names to a stranger : it is the interest of a female coming forward in what the Marquis of —— calls ' the Cause of Truth and Justice ' that makes them give their testimony." [2] Miss Barbara Pinkerton or

[1] A contributor to *The Keepsake*, the *Book of Beauty*, and *The Gem*.

[2] Unpublished letter from Miss Louisa Sheridan to Miss A. M. Madden, Nov. 23, 1837.

Mrs Chapone herself could not have expressed themselves with greater propriety.

As it turned out health or other literary pursuits intervened, and Miss Sheridan, who was an annuitant under the will of the Duchess of St Albans, abandoned her *Memoirs*, and handed over her Notes and Memoranda of Table-talk to Mrs Barron Wilson.[1]

This is the story for which the Duchess made herself responsible. Her mother, whose Christian name was Sarah, was the daughter of an Irish cottier. Her father's death led to her being apprenticed to a milliner in Cork, where she made the acquaintance of some travelling actors named Kena. About this time she caught the fancy of a certain Lieutenant Matthew Mellon of the Madras Infantry, who chanced to find himself in Cork and had taken lodgings opposite to the milliner's shop. His own account of himself was that he had come to Europe for his health, and was travelling through Ireland for change of air. Sarah was a brunette with a fine oval face and regular features, and looks and smiles across the street ended in a marriage on Twelfth Day, 1777. Husband and wife accompanied the Kenas to London and took lodgings in Lambeth, where they lived together for three short months, till in March 1777 the Lieutenant joined his ship and his wife saw him no more. On the 11th of November 1777 the widow, if widow she was, gave birth to a little girl. Enquiries were made and it was said that a Mr Mellon had died of consumption during the passage between the Cape and Madras. This no doubt is Harriot's version, or recollection of her mother's story, and how far she believed it herself or whether there is any particular story to believe is more or less a mystery. In after years the mother used to boast that Lieutenant Mellon was the son of a nobleman and that

[1] I assume this to be the case, for the compiler of the *Memoirs* does not write from personal knowledge, and yet not only is the authority of the Duchess frequently invoked but her actual words are quoted.

Harriot had "high blood" in her veins, but of this legend behind the legend the Duchess professed herself to be entirely sceptical. It is a fact that she believed that she was entitled to the name of Mellon, for in 1818, three years after she had been married to Tom Coutts, she persuaded her friend, Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King of Arms, to have the records of the College of Heralds searched in order to ascertain what, if any, arms the Mellons bore.[1] The answer was in parliamentary phrase "in the negative." Money may invent, but money cannot find, a pedigree, and the courtly herald, after due reference to a Mellinge, a Maloan, and to certain French de Meluns—the Seigneur d'Espinasse, and the Seigneur de Maupertuis, falls back on the emblem of the Pelican as appropriate to the "benevolent character of the lady in question."

The widow followed the fortunes of the Kenas, who left London for a theatrical tour in the Northern counties, and four years later, took for a second husband a lad of eighteen, named Thomas Entwisle, who had joined the company as a violinist. We are told that he was the "son of a very respectable person, who occasionally played the organ at Wigan," and was likewise connected with the cotton manufacture at Bolton. Of whatever parentage he may have been, he certainly married Sarah Mellon, for her marriage[2] lines are extant. They run as follows :—

Extracted out of Brampton :—
Marriage, viz.
" Thomas Entwisle of the Pa
County Palatine of Lanca

[1] J. Pulman to Sir Isaac Heard, College of Arms, Oct. 29, 1818.

[2] According to the *Memoirs* (I. 58 *n.*) the words "At this time little Harriot was not quite two years of age" were written on the back of the certificate of marriage. These words are not to be found on the back of the document as it now exists. A portion is missing, but apparently the "mutilation" had already taken place when it fell into the hands of Thomas Coutts, presumably in 1815. The writing on the back must have perished before 1837, when the *Memoirs* were being compiled from Miss Sheridan's Materials. For copy of register, dated Jan. 24, 1916, see p. 286.

" and Batchelor & Sarah Me
" of Brampton, in the County
" Carlisle Widow were mar
" by & with Consent of his
" of July in the year one
" eighty two—by me Geo. Gilbanks, Curate.
" This marriage was } Thos Enwisle
" Solemnised between us } Sarah Mellon
" In the } George Dalrymple
" Presence of } Isaac Elliot

The above is a true Copy, Witness my Hand this 14th day of July, 1782.
Geo. Gilbanks, Curate of Brampton.

1782
33

1815

(Envelope)
A mutilated copy of The Marriage Certificate of Tho Entwisle & Sarah Mellon, 14 July 1782.
(Cover)
Mr & Mrs Entwisle's Marriage Certificate.
Memorandum paper to be taken care of.

The young stepfather, a genial ne'er-do-well, took to little Harriot from the first, and as the players trudged from place to place, child and fiddle were carried turn and turn about by husband and wife. In the course of these wanderings they settled for a time at Ulverstone in Lancashire, and here, when she was six years old, Harriot was sent to a Dame's School. The tale of her exploits, her love of mischief, and her quickness at learning her lessons, is on somewhat conventional lines, but it presents the picture of a noticeable child. At this time the Entwisles had parted company with the Kenas, and had joined the travelling company of the " Eccentric Thomas Bibby," a native of Brent, a village on the Duddon, and it was in a large barn which belonged to the White Hart Inn at Ulverstone that Harriot made her début as an actress. Mrs Barron Wilson prints a " copy of a portion " of the playbill :—

THEATRE, ULVERSTONE.

Wednesday, October 16th, 1787, will be presented, etc.
After which, the Farce of
THE SPOILED CHILD

Old Pickle	Mr FARQUHARSON
Tag	Mr BIBBY
Miss Pickle	Mrs BLANCHARD
Maria	Miss VALOIS
and	
Little Pickle	Miss MELLON (her first appearance)

In 1787 Harriot must have been between ten and eleven years old, and her first appearance on the stage was of the nature of a triumph.

"The landlord," we are told, "made her a kite rather taller than herself; her mother made her the smartest of all laurel-green tunics, and with her sparkling eyes, blooming cheeks, and profuse black ringlets under a fancy riding cap, she was as pretty a Little Pickle as ever played at marbles."

Perhaps it is worth adding that her success on this occasion led to a second triumph as Priscilla in the *Tomboy*. A more verifiable if more or less doctored reminiscence of these early days rests on the authority of the actor and playwright, Thomas John Dibdin.

"On another occasion they (Mrs Entwisle and Harriot) came again to Harrowgate on the arrival of some London performers, and after the play was over they supped with the narrator, who had invited several of the Harrowgate company to meet Miss Mellon and her mother. During the evening, the observant young girl gave such clever, spirited imitations of some of the acting she had just witnessed, that a very young comedian who was present remarked to her, 'Your talent will one day place you on the London boards, and then do not forget to use your interest towards procuring a situation for me!' 'It will not be wanted,' Miss Mellon replied, 'for you look as if *you* were destined

to be a London manager, and then you will be more likely, if willing, to serve me.' "

Her last appearance (Dec. 12, 1789) in the hotel-barn at Ulverstone was in the character of Phebe in *As You Like It*, a rise in the profession which led to a demand for a higher salary and the indignant refusal of an offer of four shillings and sixpence a week. Before long, perhaps in 1790, the Entwisles joined the travelling company of a Mr Stanton, which played at such places as Stafford, Bridgnorth, Leek, and other towns in the Midland counties. This was a step in advance, for the manager's daughter, Mrs Nunn, who was an actress of some note, befriended the child and gave her lessons in acting. She seems to have made friends with the local patrons of the theatre wherever she went, and, especially with the family of a Mr Wright, a banker at Stafford. This, in due course, was Harriot's opportunity, for in October 1794 the members of the borough of Stafford, Richard Brinsley Sheridan and the Honourable E. Monckton, were appointed stewards of the races, and, as was expected of stewards, " bespoke " a play. The play was *The Belle's Stratagem*, and the farce *The Romp*. Harriot acted in both, and was fortunate enough to attract the attention and win the applause of the great London manager, who said, or is said to have said, that " it was a pity her talents were confined to so small a theatre." Mr Wright, who had escorted the members to the play, put in a word for his protégée, and begged Sheridan to take her on at Drury Lane. The reply was that he " would think of it, nay, do it when he returned to town "—and the next morning he was introduced to the young lady and definitely promised an engagement. " I never," said Coleridge, " spoke severely of R.B.S. but once, and then I confess I did say that Sheridan was Sheridan." It was even so on this occasion, as Harriot found to her cost, for it was only after pressure had been put upon him, that he remembered his promise. But at length, and, it is said, after she had been

coached by Sheridan himself, she made her début at Drury Lane as Lydia Languish in *The Rivals*. This was somewhat beyond her powers, but little by little, at first as little more than a walking lady, afterwards as an understudy to Mrs Jordan in such characters as Amanthis in the *Child of Nature*, and Nell in the *Devil to Pay*, or to Miss Farren in Berinthia, the heroine of Sheridan's *Trip to Scarborough*, she attracted notice and by 1797 was so far advanced as to be cast for Hero in *Much Ado about Nothing*, with Kemble as Benedick and Miss Farren as Beatrice. She was never, so one gathers, a great actress, but she had a good memory, a good accent, and the capacity for taking " infinite pains."

Her appearance, which was that of a countrified girl, blooming in complexion, with a very tall fine figure, raven locks, ivory teeth, and cheeks like pearls and coral lips —and she had a way with her, a certain " archness," a " come hither in the eye," which " tricks its beams anew," and yet possesses a secular charm.

When the Entwisles first came to London, they took a cottage in New Street out Kennington way, but the next year (March 17, 1796) they removed to No. 17 Little Russell Street. If, as Mrs Baron Wilson says, the house was opposite to the theatre, " Little Russell Street " must have been a court, leading out of Russell Street, Covent Garden, and not Little Russell Street, Bloomsbury. Perhaps it is enough to note that it was a very humble street indeed, and " that the Duchess of St Albans to the very last anniversary during her lifetime of St Patrick's Day, always made a pilgrimage on foot to the dirty narrow street (or rather lane), where in a plain dress and without her carriage or servants " she might contrast her " low beginnings " with her later magnificence. She must, however, almost from the first have been able to maintain herself and to help towards the maintenance of her mother and stepfather. Her salary may have been small, but from 1796 onwards she was cast for important parts, and she went on long and successful tours

in the provinces. But of her means and position there is no evidence save that on November 3, 1803, she bought £400 in 3 per cent. annuities for which she paid the sum of £210. This was apparently her first investment and must represent the fruits of her unaided industry. Her position as an actress was of course inferior to that of such "leading ladies" as Miss Farren, Miss de Camp, or Mrs Jordan, and though recognized as popular she was not of sufficient importance to figure largely in the theatrical memoirs and biographies of the period. Samuel Boaden in his *Life of Mrs Jordan*, which was written in 1827, after she had been Duchess of St Albans, has a little, but only a little, to say in her favour. "On the 31st of January 1791 . . . Miss Mellon, the future Mrs Coutts, and the present Duchess of St Albans (for such fortune may well render a man's state giddy) acted Lydia Languish in *The Rivals*, and obtained an engagement as an intended double of Mrs Jordan . . . she was certainly above mediocrity as an actress, though I used to think her too careless to act as she might have done. Her figure was elegant in those days and there was rather a comic expression on her countenance. Had Jordan never appeared, she might have reached the first rank . . . I never thought her one of those who

> "'Plan secret good and *blush* to find it fame.'

But a little ostentation may be pardoned in an imperfect world."[1]

[1] Boaden's estimate is not borne out by other critics.

For instance, as early as Jan. 9, 1800, the *Dramatic Censor* gives her an encouraging note:—

"Miss Mellon's 'Lydia Languish,' like most of her parts in this line, is a copy of Mrs Jordan's style of acting. But in making this remark we should be sorry to discourage this young actress, who certainly possesses no mean comic power."

Again, on January 19th: "Miss Mellon displays much archness and native humour, and gains, as she deserves, upon the favour of the public; though some of the newspapers affect to carp at her because she is not Mrs Jordan. She is a young and promising actress."

Long years afterwards a sympathetic if somewhat fanciful description of

The compiler of the *Memoirs* has a soul above dates as references, but she intended and did her best to be trustworthy. The remarks and speeches which she puts into the mouths of her *dramatis personæ*, are after the fashion of her kind and period, as fictitious if less informing than the speeches in Thucydides. We are told, for instance, that in her novitiate Miss Mellon was encouraged and patronised by such luminaries as Miss Farren and Mrs Siddons. So it may have been, but it is hard to believe that on one occasion when she was on tour at Liverpool, Mrs Siddons who had "come down for a short time," begged to be introduced to her, led her forward among the company and delivered herself as follows (p. 198) :—"Ladies and gentlemen, I am told by one I know very well, that this young lady, for years in her father's company, conducted herself with the utmost propriety—I therefore introduce her as my young friend." Nor was this all, for it was affirmed that when the company

her acting and appearance on the stage was included in Oxberry's *Dramatic Biography*, 1825, iii. 98, 99 :—

"Of Mrs Coutts' acting we need say little. She was an enterprising performer, sometimes brilliant, but seldom giving a high finish to anything she did. The great drawback in her scenic exertions appeared to be want of will, not of ability. She performed, too frequently, as if it was a task to her to do so. When in spirits she was more fascinating than excellent, and pleased the senses more than the mind. She played to all our sensibilities, not to our thought; and the applause she excited was too frequently given to the witchery of the woman rather than the power of the actress.

"We know no one of the present day to whom we can compare her. Madame Vestris's fascination is of too Cyprian a school. Neither was our heroine's style of attraction like Miss Foote's. There was a voluptuous freshness in her manner, voice and person that carried you away to dreams of enjoyment, not to flights of imagination. Miss Mellon's acting filled the mind with a kind of *Parian* feeling of delight—a reposing in the beautiful harmony of nature. Madame Vestris fires, Miss Foote entrances, Miss Mellon *absorbed* the soul—the *effect* of her acting was sensual; the *manner* of Madame Vestris is so. Miss Mellon did not strike at once upon our perceptions, but she lingered latest there. In fact, she is a delightful woman, a good actress and occasionally betrayed genius in her exertions; but she possessed the secret of pleasing; and, perhaps, a knowledge of that power made her deem study or endeavour superfluous."

OLD WELLS AND PUMP ROOM, CHELTENHAM

returned to London, Mrs Siddons repeated her harangue in the green room at Drury Lane, and that Mr Coutts with other "amateur frequenters" was present. All that it comes to is that in 1840 people were found who were willing and perhaps able to clear the memory and establish the good name of one who had been grossly calumniated. The record of her characters and of her "benefits" may be derived from Genest and other dramatic authorities, but there are no trustworthy materials for anything like a biography. If an old banker had not fallen in love with his "dearest Volante" or a young duke with the banker's widow, and that widow's mite, she would have found a place in Histories of the Drama, so-called, but there would have been no biographies, trustworthy or otherwise.

CHAPTER XXV

THOMAS COUTTS AND HARRIOT MELLON

"We will be justified in our loves."—*Winter's Tale*, i. 1.

AS there is no proof to the contrary, it may be presumed that it was at Cheltenham, in 1804 or 1805, that Thomas Coutts was "first acquaint" with Harriot Mellon. The story is, that having made her great hit as "Volante" in Tobin's *Honeymoon*, she persuaded Colonel Macmahon, equerry and familiar of the Prince of Wales, to get her step-father appointed postmaster of Cheltenham, and that about the same time she invested her savings in a house "in part of the town called Cambray," which her mother could let to summer visitors. Money was wanting to keep this venture going, and when she was on tour at Cheltenham, she proposed to devote the proceeds of her benefit-night to the house in Cambray. Now it chanced that Coutts the banker, "the richest man in England," was one of the summer visitors, and a letter soliciting his patronage was rewarded by an unsolicited word of praise and a gift of five guineas for a box at the theatre. On the strength of this letter, and before it reached its destination, he had met mother and daughter in the "Long Walk," introduced himself and expressed his approval of the daughter's laudable efforts on her mother's behalf. So, according to the *Memoirs*, the acquaintance began, and from that day forward, by this and by that, the patronage of the "richest man in England" was melted and moulded into a close and passionate friendship.

We may accept the story of the five guineas given as

LONG WALK, CHELTENHAM

" luck money " and kept in a " separate purse " as a symbol of love and luck, and it is likely enough that they were given as the reward of industry and virtue ; but the windings of the story are hard to follow. In a letter of 1810 Coutts speaks of a six years' intimacy, but Tobin's *Honeymoon* was first performed at Drury Lane on January 31st, 1805, and could not have been played in the provinces till the summer of the same year. Again it is a fact that Entwisle was postmaster of Cheltenham, but there is nothing to show when he was appointed. Nor is it by any means certain that Miss Mellon's house property at Cheltenham was purchased till many years later. But be that as it may—and little or nothing depends on the verification of the legend—it is a fact that before September 25, 1805, " Volante," as he sometimes called her, had aroused the interest and taken the fancy of Thomas Coutts.

An old man's passion for a young woman is out of course and of itself more or less discommendable, but when it is preceded or accompanied by a shower of gold, the judgement is passed already. In 1805, when Thomas Coutts " accidentally met " Harriot Mellon, he was three-score and ten years old, and in the course of the next ten years before his wife died, he settled upon her vast sums of money, enabled her to buy more than one estate, furnished her houses, and loaded her with presents of plate and jewels. At his death in 1822, her private fortune over and above that of her husband's estate, was at least £200,000.

She was a popular and hardworking actress, in receipt of a good salary, but her entertainments in her lodgings in Little Russell Street, her carriage and pair, her villa at Highgate, were outward and visible signs of unearned increment, and she had no right to complain that the newspapers would not let her alone and that judgement went by default. It would be idle to pretend that the scandal began and ended with blackmailers, or that she was and ought to have been above suspicion. By far the best plea which can be set up

for her innocence, is contained in the letters and scraps of handwriting with which her lover consoled himself when absence from home, or illness, or the rigours of Mrs Grundy forbade an open or stolen interview. None of his letters are signed in full, and there is more than one hint of secrecy and contrivance with regard to address and postage. Only a few are dated in full, and their present arrangement in chronological order rests mainly on internal evidence and the comparison of one letter with another.

The other half of the correspondence is not forthcoming, but to all appearance, from motives of prudence or affection, or both, Miss Mellon preserved every scrap or fragment of her lover's handwriting. At his death, or possibly when she married the Duke of St Albans, the letters, with a mass of other papers, important and otherwise, were tied up in bundles, thrown into a tin box and sent to the Bank for safe custody. There they remained for more than sixty years before they were placed in my hands for inspection and arrangement. The letters, which are now published for the first time, throw some light on the lives and characters of actors and actresses, and on the annals of Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theatres, and here and there we get glimpses of the writer's home life, of the misery caused by his wife's insanity, of his sojournings at watering-places, and his visits to great houses; but first and last they are love letters, and their interest lies in the unconscious revelation of a curious and remarkable personality. I have not included all the letters—that would be intolerable—but nothing has been omitted which throws any light on the love-story, or affects the good or bad faith of the parties concerned.

The first letter which Coutts wrote to Miss Mellon is dated Sept. 25, 1805; he speaks of a "long letter" dated September 18.

Two months later, November 11, in the first of a long series of birthday letters, he reckons her private fortune at £400 a year and proposes to purchase for her an additional

£200 per annum in the "Long Annuities." The bulk of the capital which produced the £400 a year must have been settled on her by her friend and patron, and it is difficult to suppose that in "two short months" the five guineas present as "luck money" should have been followed up by one or more gifts of many thousands. The birthday letter points to an intimacy of some duration. It is to be noted that both of the letters of 1805 are those of an elderly patron, "touched," indeed, with affection and sentiment, but they are not love letters. Marriage with some favoured suitor is contemplated, and the young lady is advised to see that her fortune is carefully tied up. Meanwhile she had better make her will, and in default of chit or child, kith or kin, then the consols and the annuities may just as well return whence they came, and benefit the benefactor in the persons of his granddaughters. He believes that he is rewarding virtue, and trusts that virtue will put out the reward to usury. Of the interval between November 1805 and August 1807 we know nothing, but the third letter of the series, though it is in part a business letter, is in a different strain. Harriot is on tour at Swansea, accompanied by her duenna, Sally Stephenson, and Tom Coutts is detained, by business or his wife's health, in London. If only he could step away for half an hour's conversation at No. 17 [Little Russell Street] he could put up with London in August! As it is, and *faute de mieux* he takes a look at her dear room and reports the progress as to repairs and decorations. It is a love letter, and all that can be said is, *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

As it was in 1807, so it continued to be till the end of 1814. If, as seems probable, all the letters have been preserved, they were written at long intervals, when Harriot was in the provinces or Coutts had taken his wife for change of air to the seaside. It seems that now and again her mother and Entwisle stayed with her in Little Russell Street, that she paid long visits to her friends the Grahams,

and that from time to time she went home to Cheltenham. There was always a " tame sheep-dog," at first Sally Stephenson, afterwards a niece of the Grahams, Eleanor Goddard. That she indulged them at first and quarrelled with them afterwards was a matter of course.

Sally Stephenson, for reasons good or bad, was dismissed, and avenged herself by furnishing the pamphleteers with materials for their calumnies ; but Miss Goddard, who was of better and stronger stuff, weathered more than one storm and kept her post through all vicissitudes.

When and to what extent Tom Coutts took his daughters into his confidence must remain a problem for the guessers. It is evident that by the end of 1810 Lady Guilford, and perhaps Lady Burdett, knew something of what was going on, and humoured their father, whom they adored and pitied, by a more or less friendly recognition of his beloved Harriot. They met her constantly at the theatre, and they gave her commissions to match their silks and muslins, and to make purchases on their behalf. Two or three letters which Lady Guilford wrote to Miss Mellon in 1811, are friendly, even affectionate, in word and tone. They probably hoped against hope that their mother would survive their father, or that his great age and devotion to them would preclude a second marriage, but whatever they may have hoped or feared, their countenance of their father's *protégée* testifies to their belief in her innocence.

Something must be said of the more or less scandalous pamphlets, the so-called " Lives " of Harriot Mellon, and of her aged husband, which were issued by the gutter press between 1815 and 1825. Rare enough and coarse enough to be worth their weight in gold, they have not been suffered to perish utterly, and, as the record stands, it must be examined and questioned for what it is worth. They were written and published because there was " money in them," but there were contributing causes. The actual compilers were no doubt " hungry pamphleteers," but the authorities

who supplied the garbage, were able to speak from actual knowledge and to interweave truth with falsehood. The earliest, and, perhaps, the best-informed, is entitled *Fine Acting, or a Sketch of the Life of Miss H. M. of Drury Lane Theatre and of T. C. Esq., Banker.* It was issued anonymously as to publisher or printer in 1815. There can be no doubt that this is a sketch from the life as well as of the life of Harriot Mellon, and that whoever put the story together was coached by Sally Stephenson, the discharged duenna or companion, who had lived with her in Little Russell Street and afterwards at Holly Lodge. In several particulars with regard to the story of Harriot's childhood, the purchase of property at Cheltenham, and the introduction to Mr Coutts, there is a substantial agreement between the pamphlet and the accredited biography. Picturesque details are omitted, but there is little or no attempt at malicious depreciation. It is an earlier version of the later legend. On the other hand, the story of the life at Holly Lodge, and of the secret marriage which had only recently taken place, and of the circumstances attending the quarrel with Miss Stephenson and her dismissal, affords the occasion for the vilest insinuations as to character and behaviour. Certain undesigned coincidences deserve to be noted. It is alleged (p. 38) that Miss Mellon " made no scruple of showing her letters to those with whom she chose to be intimate, and even occasionally in the Green Room—love-letters one may well call them, as they were loaded with praises of her angelic mildness of temper, etc." The letters which were written, and have remained unpublished to the present day, could hardly be more accurately described. Again, on p. 39 : " She has read to an acquaintance a letter which he wrote : 'My attendance on the mournful scene is unremitting. I have not been in bed for five nights, I have not been shaved for five days ; if you were to see me, you would scarcely know me.' " Now the actual words of the letter, which was unpublished in 1815, and has remained unpublished

to the present day, were these : " My sufferings have been great and I thought the awful moment was near. I have given up all the world, my beard is grown long and I am, I am sure, a deplorable wretch. I have (sic) stirred out or seen anyone." The date of the letter was not, as the pamphlet indicates, December 1814, when the first Mrs Coutts was on her death-bed, but some years earlier, when the O.P. riots were at their height ; but it is undoubtedly the letter referred to, a letter which had been shown in confidence to her companion and which she quoted from memory to adorn the tale of mystery and scandal.

The story of the lottery ticket and the prize of £10,000 appears for the first time in *Fine Acting*. It comes in a less questionable shape than it afterwards assumed, and allowing for the character and bias of the narrative, may pass for what it is worth.

The scene is a party in Little Russell Street. One of the guests begins by saying that he has heard that the proprietors of a newspaper had presented the hostess with a prize ticket for £10,000, but that she might whistle for the prize. " But I have the ticket, "she exclaims, and by way of proof hands round a banknote for a thousand pounds. Her next move was to forward a subscription of £100 to the Theatrical Fund under strict secrecy as to the donor. But, so it seems, the secret got abroad, with the result that the newspapers, or, as it seems probable, persons connected with the press, demanded blackmail on penalty of exposure. Unless they shared the good fortune of the prize-winner, they would explain the nature and origin of the prize. According to the pamphlet, the demand was resisted and the threats ignored, with the result that " the paragraphs increased in number and malignity, and the idle, the foolish and the wicked, took them up, and the whole town was amused with tales of the intrigue of a gentleman of three-score and upward with a handsome actress of twenty-four." Ten years later the story of the lottery ticket

was revived for the express purpose of blackening the name and fame of the living and the dead. In Mr Percy Wyndham's *Strictures on an Impostor, an Old Actress, Formerly Bet the Pot Girl*, which appeared in 1822, it is openly avowed, and in the coarsest terms, that the ticket was a fraud and a delusion, that the £10,000 was the price of an assignation, and that the broker who arranged the terms was the actor, Ralph Wewitzer, better known as the author of dramatic handbooks and of a collection of anecdotes entitled *The School of Wits*. But the legend assumes other shapes. According to Mrs Barron Wilson, the ticket was bought by Wewitzer, but the value of the prize was only five thousand pounds; and in the article devoted to Harriot Mellon in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Strictures*, are quoted, but the unspeakable "brokerage" of Wewitzer is watered down to, or bowdlerised into, a negotiation of marriage.

Is it possible to arrive at the truth, or, at any rate, to suggest a possible solution of the mystery? The Wewitzer libel refutes itself. It is inconceivable that, after an intimacy of five years—an intimacy which had begun with the giving and receiving of large sums of money—the intervention of a third party, and a huge additional bonus were required for a nefarious object. Human nature does not proceed on these lines. Nor is it probable that if Wewitzer (to judge from his writings, a simple and honourable man) could have blasted the reputation of Tom Coutts and Harriot Mellon, he would have been left, as he was left, with their knowledge and without their aid, to languish in a debtor's prison. On the other hand, it is quite possible that Harriot Mellon had only herself to thank for the paragraphs in the newspapers and for the commencement of the scandal. It is a fact that Tom Coutts frequently invested in lottery tickets, which he presented to his wife, his daughters, and his friends. It is likely enough that one of the tickets which he had presented to Harriot obtained a prize for a

considerable sum. Of this she would speak to her friends, and under cover of the ticket could safely boast of the far larger sums which from time to time were being settled upon her. A donation of £100 to the Theatrical Fund would excite the envy of greater and lesser actresses, and awaken both suspicion and resentment with regard to her relations with her elderly patron and admirer. Moreover, the point to be considered is not what was written in 1825 or 1815, but what was rumoured and believed in 1810; and for any or every rumour it was enough that an actress of the second or third order of merit was rich enough to entertain sumptuously, to keep her own carriage,[1] and to gain credit for charity on a large scale, and that she could not keep silence as to the extent or the source of her good fortune. The gossip of the green-room supplied the paragraphist with copy, and after the rumour had died down or grown stale, the real or pretended grievances of former friends and ex-duennas revived and magnified the scandal.

Of Mr Percy Wyndham's *Strictures* little need be said. It professes to criticise *the Life of the late Thomas Coutts, Esq., By a Person of the First Respectability*, and to proclaim the wrongs and sufferings of the decayed actor, Ralph Wewitzer. It is probable that Wewitzer, who was old and poor, had been interviewed and had complained of ingratitude and neglect, but it is evident that he had *not* unfolded the tale in which he figures as hero or villain. A third pasquinade entitled *A Tale of the Last Century, Secret Memoirs of Harriot Pumpkin*, which was published in 1825, after the second Mrs Coutts was a widow, is of the same kidney as *The Strictures*, and is evidently by the same hand.

But the lampoons were not left unanswered. The third volume of Oxberry's *Dramatic Biography* (issued by Mrs

[1] Theatrical Equipages, November, 1807.—Mrs Powell, it is said, is about to launch a carriage; Drury Lane will thus have to boast of five ladies who keep their equipage, viz.: Mrs Benham (*i.e.* Madame Storace), Mrs Jordan, Mrs Powell, Miss Mellon, and Miss Duncan. Oxberry's *Dramatic Biography*, 1825, iii. 214.

HARRIOT MELLON AS "VOLANTE"
From a coloured engraving of oil painting by Sir W. Beechey, R.A.

Oxberry in 1825) contains a "Memoir" of Mrs Coutts. The writer, who claims to speak from "a personal acquaintance of six and thirty years," could hardly have been the actor, William Oxberry, who was born in 1784 and died in 1824; but he speaks with authority as a dramatic critic and impartially as a biographer. Of the rights and wrongs of companions or ex-duennas he says nothing, but to the charge of neglecting Wewitzer he replies categorically. His story is that the old actor, who was already provided for, was victimised by an idle and extravagant youth who lived at his expense, and that Mrs Coutts stopped an annuity which would have fallen into the hands of this protégé. Here, perhaps, we come upon the bedrock of fact. Wewitzer did not economize his alms, and merited punishment. But the punishment was shared by some who were minded to take revenge, and hence the pamphlets. It would have been wiser and better for the lady if she had let her old friend and comrade squander his "provision" on whom he pleased. The memorialist also replies to the other charge that she ate and drank more than was good for her. "To this we state, and know the truth of our statement, that Mrs Coutts is one of the most abstemious livers in existence. She gets up at seven in the winter—and drunkards are never early risers"; and as to her being glutton or epicure, why, she has been known "to lunch on a red herring roasted." Attack and defence, calumny and apology are trivial enough, but the "Memoir" seems to have been a *bonâ fide* protest on the part of someone connected with the stage who had not been bribed to evade or disguise the truth. For, in spite of many eulogies, in answer to the heaviest charge which her enemies could bring against her, he will not enter into the facts, but records a verdict of *non-proven*. If she had been guilty, she could not have escaped the vigilance of her "sisters of the sock." It stands to reason that if the pamphleteers were inspired with malice, the apologist was not inspired by gold; and we may believe him when

he tells us that in very early days she made with her own hands and lent out baby-clothes to expectant mothers, and that after she left the stage she made an allowance of fifty guineas a year to " Mrs Hogg, her old dresser at Drury." In the scales of charity the baby clothes outweigh the guineas, but a selfish woman would have saved both her fingers and her purse.

In the days when George the Fourth was king great wealth, apart from lands and titles, was novel, and its use and disposal were yet to be learned It was reserved for Miss Burdett Coutts, the inheritor of Harriot Mellon's wealth, to set an example of a wise munificence. But it must not be forgotten that, together with that wealth, she inherited a tradition of charity, perhaps the greater legacy of the two. In the " books that are set " surely the first to be set will be the *Book of Origins*.

It was a coarser and a crueller age when " cases " which were not law cases could be reported with impunity, and it was enough for the lovers and purveyors of scandal that in 1806 Harriot Mellon, not even the " leading lady," subscribed a hundred pounds to " The Fund for the Relief of Indigent Persons Belonging to His Majesty's Company of Comedians of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane," and that the next year she set up " an equipage," to write her down as the mistress of her ancient and wealthy patron whose name was often on her lips, and who was known to court her society. In one of Cruikshank's caricatures depicting the follies and scandals of Drury Lane, the pair are seated under a canopy—he

> " So thin that, strip him of his cloathing,
> He'd totter on the edge of nothing,"

she winsome and comely with something of a " Cyprian " air. Drafts on the Bank in favour of " Mellon " are slipping out of his pocket. That was a cartoon illustrative of the talk of the town. Many thought, and some did not

scruple to say that it was absurd to talk of a platonic friendship between an old man of boundless wealth and a young woman who lived in luxury at his expense. Now the ever-recurring theme of these letters is the lady's angelic virtue, her native modesty, her triumph over the temptations of her calling, and as it was to the writers' interest that the correspondence should be kept secret, it is difficult to understand the purport of these protestings if they were flagrantly and manifestly untrue. There is an honest doubt of evil as well as good, and suspicion is not always justified of all her children.

Correspondence

September 28, 1805—*November*, 1, 1809

I

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

Pray send me a direction under whose cover I may inclose a letter to you.

25th September, 1805.

The 18th of this month I wrote you a long letter, and I inclosed it in a Frank to Mrs Beazley. As perhaps she was not come to Town, and you may not have received it, I write this that, if you please, you may enquire for my letter; and I beg you will indulge me with a few lines, conveyed as you did the last, as I am sincerely anxious to hear how you have settled your residence for the winter; also whether your health is perfectly recovered. These are things very interresting (*sic*) to me, who will ever retain for you the sincerest sentiments of affectionate regard.

I am very uneasy not hearing from you. I saw in the Papers that a Lady belonging to the Theatre was about to have a coronet added to her name: it may be You! None deserve any pre-eminence so well. I hope it will not be a painful pre-eminence.

II

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

11th November, 1805.

My dearest Harriot, I am sure, feels that I wish her many happy returns of the eleventh of November. It is wishing her no more than I know she deserves, and that virtue and integrity, benevolence of heart and soundness of head may be rewarded with health and prosperity—which, too often, does not follow these amiable qualities in the degree it ought in this world; though it must be crowned with never ceasing happiness in that which is to come.

I know the philosophic eye with which you can look on the honours and riches of this world; and I consider it, and your preserving so pure a mind with so much natural gaiety and vivacity of temper in the midst of temptations and in a profession which exposes a young and beautiful woman to more danger than any other, as almost a miracle. But you have come like gold from the crucible more bright than even you entered it, and I am sure your honour will ever remain clear and your life spotless.

I regret such a character should not be perfectly independent, and feel more happiness than I can express to be in any degree the means of your becoming so.

	p. annum.
You have 3500 Reduc'd 3 p. ct producing .	£105
3500 Cons 3 p. ct . . .	105
235 Long Anny	235
	£445
The Property Tax doubled next year will take away	44.10
& leave you clear . . .	£400.10

You have determined, as to the £105 in the "Reduced," to leave the interest to be accumulated and laid out as it comes due in more of the same Stock; and I wish you should understand and practice management in this way,

till you add £105 to your income, in order that you may have a clear Five Hundred Pounds a year. I shall now enable you to purchase £200 p. ann in the Long Annuities, the income of which you may apply to expences or how you think fit. As to the £105 in the Consols 3 p. ct, I certainly think you may freely apply it to procure for yourself any addition you wish for to the present comforts of your life.

I hope your life, my dearest Harriot, will be as long as you are able to enjoy it, and that your passage to eternal felicity will be easy. Make your will that what you leave may go to those you love, and if you should be at any loss for proper trustees the partners in my House, I am sure, will act for you honourably and accurately. It is not likely you should not feel any earnest desire to give your fortune to somebody; but, if it should be so, I recommend you to give it between Lady Susan and Lady Georgina North. I also recommend in case you should ever incline to make any man the happiest of his race, that, previous to such a connection, you should make over your fortune to trustees, and by your marriage contract secure it to be your own, and the income to be received by yourself as if you had still remained single.

III

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

Monday, 31st August, 1807.

I hope you received this day sennight at Swansea the letter I wrote to you on Saturday the 22nd, and that it determined you to stay there till Wednesday (the 26th), instead of leaving on Tuesday (the 25th), in order to receive another letter I promised and did write on Monday the 24th, which would get to Swansea on the aforesaid Wednesday. Both letters were franked by Lord Chatham and directed to Miss Stephenson, Post Office Swansea; so if you have not got them pray write to the Postmaster, Swansea, to forward them to you.

A most strange chain of unforseen accidents brought me back and have detained me in London. Nothing could

have been more cross! Had I known it would have so turned out I would never have come.

I wish you had written me a few lines all this time. I somehow thought I should certainly have got one to-day, and am much disappointed. You do not know how the sight of your dear hand would have cheered and delighted me. My prayers for you are constant and fervent that every blessing may attend you and angels guard you through the labyrinth we tread in this world. As to the next you are almost an angel already, and when you quit your present lovely form you will find your access very easy to another and a better world.

You see I am in a serious humour and I cannot boast much of my spirits. A half-hour's conversation at No. 17 would be a great cordial; but this alas! cannot be at present. I believe we shall set off to-morrow—pray write then; perhaps I may not go till the Post comes in on Wednesday, or, if I do, I shall leave directions and it will overtake me next morning. If I get no letter I shall know you have not got back to Cheltenham; when you do get there pray write to me. I am all impatience to hear. Oh, my sweet Harriot, take care of your dear self; keep up your spirits and be gay and chearful as those who have, like you, nothing but goodness in their hearts, always must be—at intervals at least.

I kiss the paper you are to look upon and beg you to kiss it just here. Your dear lips will then have touched what mine touch just now.

Adieu! adieu!

I send you two advertisements. The Estate of Otham you see I have enquired about. Your 3 p. ct Consol and Long Annuity, if sold at present, would about buy it. I fear it may be sold before you can see it. Perhaps you could write to Mr Beazley or someone, to go to see it for you. I told Mr Collins he had better not be in a hurry to sell it as I had a friend now in the country who wanted such a thing and who had his money ready. This may retard the sale, and whenever you are ready to go to see it, I will send a letter to Mr Collins, to say my friend has otherwise disposed of his money. Disappointed of that purchaser he will be the more ready to treat with you.

Your income will be less, but security better. The other place, 494 acres for £1300 near Tunbridge, seems to be so very cheap for so much land, there must be some objection to it; however you may enquire.

Since I wrote this I have seen Mary Brown. She is very well, and on Thursday she wrote to you directed to Tenby—she had nothing to say to you to-day. The smell of paint was greatly gone off—paper-hangers at work. She had bought a carpet for your DRAWING-ROOM—very handsome. I took a good look of the dear room. Who is in your Cheltenham house? and how does the Prince go on?

IV

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

Salisbury, Sunday, September 13th, 1807.

How strangely and how contrary to all intention or calculation every thing happens! When I parted from you, my dearest Love, I never was more sure of anything than that I should not be in London again soon. It seemed likely I might be there about the tenth of next month, but, certainly, not before.

From Luton to Christchurch it was a very little out of the way to pass through London, and I was over-persuaded to do so, on account of some things locked up and left behind; but it was on the condition of not staying more than one day. Every day since then has produced some new occurrence in the most cross and teazing manner to detain us. It is impossible for me to explain them to you or almost to enumerate them. I at last thought we must altogether give up the sea, and I should have been very glad to have done so, for it is distressing beyond measure that I should just stay till you are on the point of arriving. I really left town uncommonly uneasy and out of spirits, too, not hearing from you for a long while. It always seems very long, for I wish to hear every hour of the day were it possible; however I am relieved from this degree of anxiety by my Saturday's letters following me from London with which came your sweet epistle from

Cheltenham, which has made me for a moment very happy indeed.

Lavater knew people's characters, he said, by their handwriting. I really think it is not a mere whim but that there is some foundation in it. I fancy and please myself with it that your writing resembles mine. The inclosed '*Coutts Esqr*' is like mine. Kiss it, dearest Harriot, as I have done. I am in hopes a postilion going to Staines may put this in there to-night and that you will find it on your arrival on Monday if you come then, but if not, it will arrive certainly on Tuesday. The weather being fine however, perhaps you may not come till Thursday; perhaps I may again write to come that day. Pray do not immediately shut up in the house, but walk and drive out, for as you have been in that habit so much lately the sudden reverse may hurt your health. You should be very cautious in your diet to eat light nourishing food —mutton roasted or broiled is the best, and very little supper and very light—porter is not good for you.

I hope the newspapers have done with you forever. You have the satisfaction to know they have no motive for abuse but envy of your being richer than they are—rich you are in a mine of your own that nobody nor any thing can deprive you—a pure, innocent, honest, kind, affectionate heart.

[Scrap of paper—"Coutts Esqr."]

To

Miss Mellon,
No. 17 Little Russel Street,
Covent Garden,
London.

V

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

Wednesday, 7th October, 1807.

If we were so fortunate to have near us a sensible, good young woman kindly and affectionately attached, whose first object was watching and attending us, I am very sure we should both very soon be quite well; and it is

cruel that cross circumstances and prejudices alone should deprive us of the most invaluable of blessings under the sun. But I ought to be content and trust to Heaven as you have often sweetly taught me.

I am better and it is intended as soon as possible we should remove to Worthing, passing the first night or two at Wimbledon and perhaps one at Petersham. Therefore, my dearest, might you not go to Cheltenham? I will write you a line there very frequently and I hope it will please God on your return to let me meet you and see you in perfect health—the first joy of my heart. Lady G. was quite mortify'd she was in bed when you called, and the children were gone out; as in the parlour level with the hall, or in that one pair she might have had the pleasure of conversing with you. She says she never saw so much expression of sincerity and goodness or kind affection in any face.

The one parcel inclosed is for the present use—the other for the 1st of October, and if you went to Cheltenham perhaps you need to take no other with you, but when you come back take back at Wright's any part of the £500 you have parted with, as you know *it is to last till the new year.* But my affection will always endure and never change and I shall forever prefer your use and your conveniency to my own. Therefore pray do as you like best, &c., &c.

May Heaven watch over you and bless you ever.

This is the first of my writing.

VI

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

10th November, 1807.

May Heaven who knows the purity of my dearest Harriot's heart comfort and bless her! may she see many Eleventhes of November in health and happiness and every blessing she so well has deserved. If she has enemies, which is hardly possible, may they see and repent of their malice! May she live long to enjoy and feel the kindness of her friends, and may she ever think of me as

she does now and may it be in my power, as much as it will ever be my earnest wish and desire, to promote the happiness and comfort of her life! I know I possess the greatest treasure any man can possess—the heart of a virtuous, affectionate woman; and, as I am most sensible of its value, let me bless God and be thankful for the best and choicest gift of Heaven, sent to me in more instances than one, such as few men can boast of; and it ought to overbalance the feeling of indignation at the base ingratitude and abominable envy and malice so frequent in the world, as well as to the thousand vexations great and small to which Life is continually exposed.

Your dear letter of Saturday came most comfortably to me on Sunday. I was at home quite alone and anxiously expecting it, after the sad one you wrote on Thursday. Every word of it was an emanation of a heart —" full of nothing but goodness "—

> —" remember me always with affection as one who would spend her life with pleasure in any way or situation to contribute to your happiness or comfort—compare my heart with your own—that can best explain my feelings."

These are words I shall never forget. I know their truth and that I can never value them too highly.

May just Heaven who knows the source of perfect purity and truth from which they come, bless and reward her! Dearest Love! I hope the inclosed supply will reach your kind hands safe to-morrow. It makes me happy the thoughts your dear lips will press the place where mine have been—just here!

VII

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

WORTHING,
Sunday, 22nd October, 1809.

We did not get away 'till three o'Clock but we got to Dorking by seven, all safe and well, to the White Horse, where we found the rooms very clean indeed, which is no small comfort. In all other respects I cannot at all re-

commend it, for we found the provisions of every sort very bad ; for which reason we went off in the morning to breakfast at Horsham where we get good tea, bread, butter and eggs, and from thence our own horses drove us without stopping (only refreshing them ten minutes at Ashington Common) to Worthing, in time to dinner with Lady Burdett at the little Marine Cottage, where we were all happy and merry till bed-time. A new place is always awkward at first, and when I am now writing at ten o'Clock I hardly know where I am, or what I am about, but I believe we have the Hotel all to ourselves, and almost the whole place. I am told there is not above two or three familys left, and Lady Lonsdale,[1] the only one I know, leaves it to-morrow. Her brother, the Archbishop of Armagh, the Primate of Ireland, remains at Warwick House. I do not know what they pay for it, but a house Lord Dudley had at 16 Gs. a week the people consider themselves lucky to have let for a little at five. I hear however of no disease, epidemical or otherwise, and Lady Guilford and her children are pictures of health, and we are all very well *so far*. Coming down I had a sort of creak in the neck, which was followed with a great deal of pain over the back part of my head which made me very uneasy, but I tied over it your lamb's wool network, which operated like magic (such is the power of your dear hand) and removed all pain from me at once, nor has it ever returned. I slept in it all night and wear it round my neck this morning which, I am told, makes me look quite beautiful. So with your Dear Eyes and sweet affectionate looks always before my eyes I am happy and content. Only, sometimes, the fear that you are not so, and that your health will suffer gives me a pang. I really do not think we shall stay above a fortnight. I have not yet walked out, but I shall carry this to the post-office and look for Parson's Hotel and the House you was to have bought. When you write pray tell me who's house it is, and if Parson's is the name of your Hotel, for I have lost or mislaid my memorandum and you know my poor memory is become a sieve, but will still be clear

[1] Mary, eldest daughter of Lord Bute, the Prime Minister, married in 1761 James, first Earl of Lonsdale.

for one dear object which is too near the heart ever to be forgotten tho' every other sense should forsake me.

Tell me in answer what you propose as to Cheltenham: When I receive your answer I will write again.

(Envelope)
To
Mr Entwisle
No. 17 Little Russel Street,
Covent Garden,
London.

VIII

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

Tuesday, 24th October, 1809.

I am most cruelly and dreadfully disappointed to-day receiving no letter. I cannot but suppose it has been owing to some mistake for I never can imagine it possible you would wilfully omit giving me so great a pleasure. Then the idea forces itself on my tortured Heart

> "That may be you are not well—
> Infirmity does still neglect all Duty."

Well I must do the best I can to have patience till to-morrow. If no letter comes then I shall be crazy.

This is the finest day I ever saw and the Ladys are lugging me out to see some delightful prospect in the County; but alas I have no eyes for pleasure; all looks to me black and dismal. I went into your Hotel yesterday (Parson's) and into all the rooms. Only there was two young Ladys who I saw at a distance in the window and figured to be you and Sally; but I am sure it was not, for tho' they look'd at me and quizzed me from the window they would not let me come in.

The Play House, closed last night for the season with *Grieving's a Folly*, for Mr Trotter's benefit, who is a favourite with Lady Burdett and Lady Lonsdale. They sent all their servants, and Lady Guilford, Sir F. Burdett and Mr Balfour who came here accidentally accompany'd Lady

HOLLY LODGE, HIGHGATE
From a pencil sketch in possession of the Lord Latymer

Burdett, and pressed me much to go ; but I had resolved and was obstinate. So Mrs C. staid with me at home. The Hotel is rather fine than comfortable. However our stay will be short. I am never done writing to you, but must give over. I hope you received mine yesterday.

May Heaven preserve you in health and happiness to poor T.

IX

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

Wednesday, November The first, 1809.

Agreable to what I wrote on Monday I did not write yesterday, altho' I received *then* the happiness of your kind dear letter. It was not an unmixed happiness, for you still seemed to be uneasy about me, for which there is not at present the least reason, nor the least probability of there being any. I am very well. The weather is uncommonly fine. The post is not come in as yet to-day, and I please myself with the idea of receiving perhaps another letter, without feeling previously any torture (as before) from the possibility of no letter coming ; for in your last you told me you were mending, and only wanted open air to gain strength and I hope yesterday and to-day you have been free of fogs. The wind blowing from the North, we have had no fog here since my arrival, except sometimes in the night, but there is seldom fog anywhere with Northerly wind.

I hope you will continue all this week at Highgate,[1] and that the air of the country with the charming society of your kind friends will quite restore you. The cheering prospect of this comforts my heart, and gives me spirits beyond what any other event could bestow, though now and then the fears for your health and the desponding expressions (that occur sometimes in your late letters) give an unfavourable turn to my thoughts ; and my spirits (which are too much given at all times to despondency) sink to misery in spite of every effort. I have many

[1] At Holly Lodge, as the guest of Sir H. Tempest. The house and a portion of the estate were not purchased till 1810.

things to vex and distress me, but I suppose everyone has some, and why should I expect to be exempted? I try all in my power to take a different view, and to be thankful for the enjoyments I have, yet none of them can avail, if you, dearest Harriot, are ill, or rendered unhappy, especially by my means.

I can hardly regret your not buying a house here, for though the country about Worthing is fine, and itself in my mind the most agreable sea-bathing-place of all those I have visited, yet there is a smell, frequently very disagreable, and I rather fear sometimes unhealthy. . . . The opposition at Covent Garden seems to be over. I am ill-natured enough to say I am sorry it is so; but perhaps it may take some turn equally to bring the managers to reason, as they deserve, for I really believe the old prices are sufficient, and certainly the proprietors have behaved shamefully as well as foolishly throughout the business. Lady Stuart[1] and her daughters set out Sunday for Staines, in their route to Cornwall. Her two sons, in their way to accompany her, dined at Petersham, at Lord Bute's. They say though she has a terrible cough and is much wasted, they hope she may recover, as she still has a good share of strength. It is a very melancholy situation, but while there is life there is hope, and she appears to be in good spirits herself—but that may be construed, perhaps, a bad symptom.

The post is come and brought me your charming letter of yesterday. How sincerely I feel the most affectionate regard for Sir Henry [Tempest]. I see even your present situation, the winter too before you, is very delicate. You must be kept quiet and you must give up the stage—you should do it decidedly at once. I will write again to-morrow if I can. My heart is overwhelmed in anxiety about you, dearest and best of women.

[1] Fanny, Lady Stuart (born Coutts) died at Flushing, October 26, 1809.

CHAPTER XXVI

FROM PICCADILLY TO THE TOWER—AND AFTER

"In the brave days of old."
Lays of Ancient Rome.

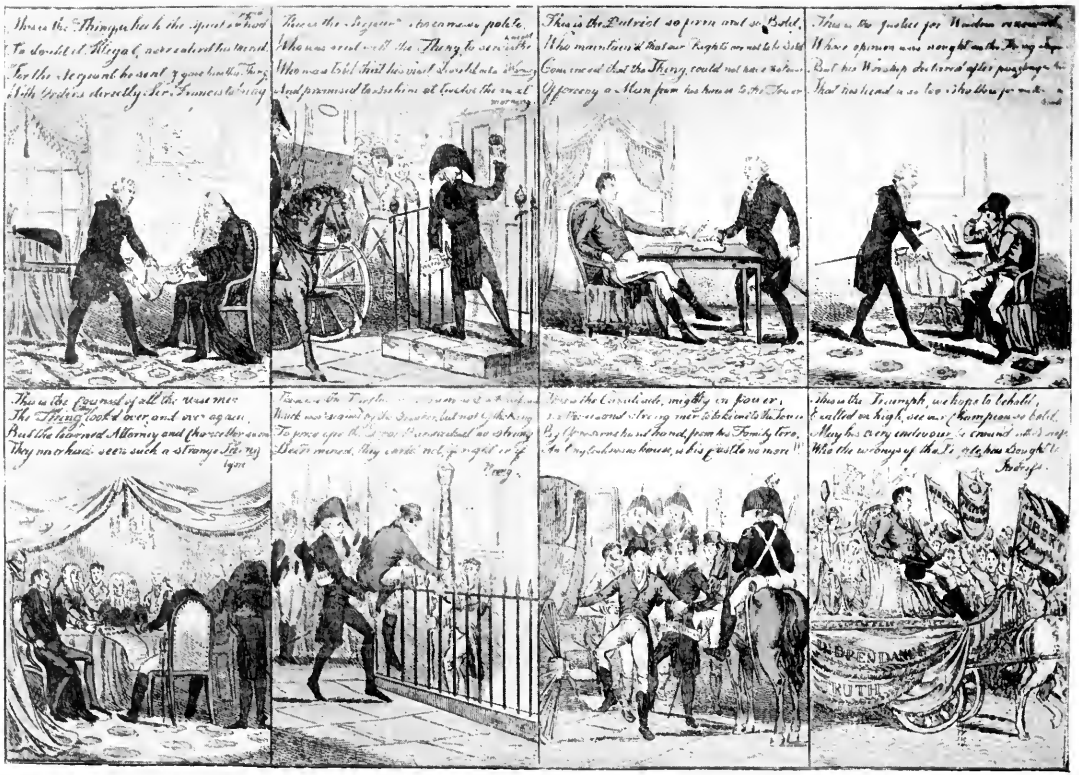
THOMAS COUTTS and Sir Francis Burdett were next-door neighbours. The father-in-law owned and occupied the big house with bay windows, fronting Piccadilly and the Green Park; the son-in-law occupied the house with a verandah'd balcony at the corner of Bolton Street (then Bolton Row). In April 1810, the house with the verandah suffered siege and battery, and its tenant was taken prisoner and sent to the tower. Coutts must have suffered not a little in mind if not in person, but he seems at the time to have kept his sufferings to himself. A week later, when "the tumult had dwindled to a calm," in a letter to Miss Mellon he speaks of his son-in-law's imprisonment, but in tones of cheerful composure. Perhaps he felt that Sir Francis had reached the haven where he *should* be.

Everyone is familiar with the bare fact, but the occasion, details, and the issue are forgotten, and the story as illustrated by contemporary letters will bear retelling.

The "milk in the cocoa-nut," if the phrase may pass, was the ignominy of Walcheren. Early in February 1810, the House being "in Committee on the Scheldt," Charles Philip Yorke, M.P. for Cambridgeshire, spied strangers, and had the House cleared, with the result that one John Gale Jones, apothecary and agitator, issued an advertisement that a debating society known as the "British Forum,"

of which he was Secretary, had unanimously pronounced Mr Yorke's conduct an "invidious and ill-timed attack on the liberty of the press." On February 20, Yorke appealed to the House on the score of Privilege, and Jones was committed to Newgate. On March 12, Sir Francis moved that John Gale Jones be discharged, "on the ground that the House could not commit anyone but its own members," and the motion being negatived by 192 to 14, he wrote and published in Cobbett's *Political Register*, March 24, 1810, a Letter to his Constituents in which he accused the House of Commons of violating Magna Charta, and setting itself above the Law of the Land. The tone of the "Letter" was at once contemptuous and revolutionary. Was "our liberty to lie at the absolute mercy of a part of our fellow-subjects called together by means which it was not necessary for him to recount?" (*i.e.* by the purchase of rotten boroughs); "our forefathers made stern grim-visaged prerogative hide its head; they broke in pieces his sharp and massy sword. And shall we, their sons, be afraid to enter the lists with undefined privilege, assuming the power of prerogative?" A *résumé* of the "Arguments" by which he had vainly endeavoured to convince the Gentlemen of the House of Commons followed the Letter. The House was in an ill temper over the disaster and exposure of Walcheren, and, according to *The Times*, wished to give the public something else to talk about. Ministers were at their wits' ends to excuse their ignorance, their recklessness and their ineptitude. Burdett, in the course of the debate, had torn their evasions and apologies to ribands, arguing that "they deserved to be punished much more severely than by a vote of censure." "Nothing less," he added, "than the impeachment of ministers and trials of commanders by Courts Martial, should satisfy the nation for the cruel effusion of the blood of its army."

It followed, as a natural consequence, that when he took up the cudgels for John Gale Jones and appealed from the


Thus the Thing pass'd the spirit stirring
To double it's Rings & never alter his mind
For the Regent he sent & gave him the Ring
With Orders directly for Princes to bring
Thus the Regent was stopp'd in his way
Who was privately told that his visit Lord Eldon
And promised to shew him at London the great
This is the Council so pious and so Bold,
Who maintain'd Mat our Rights we must take by Gold
Commenc'd that the Thing could not have a Return
Of poverty a Man from his house & the Tower
Thus the Jaylor for Windsor was ready
Where opinion was sought on the Thing
But his Worship declared after paying
That his head was so low it should flow
This is the Counsel of all the Wise men
The Thing look'd over, and over again
But the learned Attorney and Proctor then
They never have seen such a Strange Sight
Thus to the Prince with
Which was seized by the Speaker, but not the King
To price open
Beefs moved, they could not by night or
Thus to the Constitution, mighty in power,
By Oppression hunted from the Family Tree,
To Carlton House, this guest he more
Thus the Triumph, we hope to behold,
Exalted on high, see our champion so bold,
May his every endeavour be crowned with hope
Who the wrongs of the People have sought
Finis
LIBERTY
LIBERTY
LIBERTY

judgement of the House to the Westminster electors and the Radical Press, authority in the person of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Speaker should console its wounded feelings and give proof of its existence and vitality. Lord Colchester (Speaker Abbot) in his diary does not enlarge on Burdett's violation of Privilege or his radicalism, but it is evident that the motion which had been entrusted to a private member, Mr Thomas Lethbridge, M.P. for Somersetshire—" That this publication was scandalous, a libel upon the rights of the House," was inspired by the Government.

There were two adjournments, but during an all-night sitting, April 5-6, the original motion was agreed to without a division. A motion was then made by Sir Robert Salisbury for the Commitment of Sir Francis to the Tower, and carried by a majority of 38 at half-past seven in the morning of Friday, April 6. Mr Speaker's warrant was made out before nine, and by two o'clock the Deputy-Serjeant had returned to Westminster with the warrant and without Sir Francis. The authorities were non-plussed. The hare must first be caught, and, if caught, a doubt arose whether and to what extent force might be employed.

If a delinquent might be arrested under a Speaker's warrant, could his " castle " be broken into and his person carried off, *vi et armis* ? The point was a nice one, and, as the days went on, no one could say " yes " or " no." The Attorney-General (Sir Vicary Gibbs) thought that such a process would be analogous to what might be done at the suit of the King, and that, if done, it could be defended. Eldon, the Lord Chancellor, confessed that he " always felt that there was an infirmity in the power delegated by a warrant from either House of Parliament." The one authority who had no doubts was the King, who " understood that the old warrant of appointment to the office of Serjeant-at-Arms contained an express delegation of power to break open all houses in the execution of the Speaker's

warrant," but the Prime Minister suspected the King's "understanding." The fact was that the authorities could not find a precedent for the arrest of anyone but a Member of the House for an offence committed within the precincts of the House, but they were bent on making an example, and they knew that if Sir Francis was once safely lodged in the Tower, there was no one who either could or would bring them to book. Expel him from the House they dared not, for that would mean another election and a conflict with the electors, but for any action on his part, for Magna Charta or a writ of "habeas corpus," for the "consequences," in short, they cared nothing at all.

To return to the Speaker and his warrants. Nothing of any importance happened on Friday. The Serjeant wrote to Sir Francis asking him when he would like to be arrested, and Sir Francis replied "that he would be happy to receive the Serjeant at twelve o'clock" on Saturday, but did not refer to the warrant or the Tower.

He has been charged with going back from his word, and for resisting when he had promised to surrender, but whatever his letter may have implied it must be borne in mind that late on Friday evening the Serjeant and his deputy saw Sir Francis, presumably at his house in Piccadilly, showed him the warrant and told him that the Speaker would not hear of "twelve o'clock to-morrow," but that they would have to take him at an earlier hour. Then and not till then he "said he should resist," and after and in consequence of this visit, for the first time wrote to the Speaker. The letter is dated, Piccadilly, April 6, 1810, and must have been written between nine and ten o'clock at night. It is a curious document. The opening sentences are very much to the point: "Power and Privilege are not the same thing, and ought not at any time to be confounded together. Privilege is an exemption from power, and was by Law secured to the third branch of the legislature, that they might safely protect the people, not to give

this power to destroy the people. Your warrant, Sir, I believe, you know to be illegal. I know it to be so. To superior force I must submit"; but towards the close of the letter he shows that the events of the day had tried his nerves and that he was not quite master of himself: "And I would condescend to accept the meanest office that would vacate my seat, being more desirous of getting out of my present association than other men may be desirous of getting profitably into it; Sir, this is not a letter in answer to a vote of thanks, it is an answer to a vote of a very different kind." He seems to have realised that he was in an awkward predicament. He would resist, he would "defy the lightning," but he did not altogether enjoy the process. The letter is left at the Speaker's house by the writer's brother William Jones Burdett and his son Robert, a lad of fourteen. "I sent down word," writes Lord Colchester, "that there was no answer."

It is possible that Sir Francis passed the night at the house of Roger O'Connor (brother of Arthur O'Connor the Irish patriot) in Maddox Street. He was not at home in Piccadilly at half-past six in the morning of Saturday, and it is stated that he breakfasted with O'Connor, went for a ride in the Park, and returned to his house before midday. By this time Piccadilly was in an uproar. Carriages were stopped by the mob, and the occupants compelled on pain of violence to profess their allegiance to Burdett. Between twelve and one o'clock a troop of Life Guards drew up before the house and scattered the crowd by making their horses "prance about on the foot pavement as well as the street." The mob hissed, but there is no record of violence on either side. At length, under cover of the military, a magistrate read the Riot Act and warned all the people peaceably to depart. Guards were then placed across Piccadilly from Dover Street on the east to Bolton Row on the west. Picturesque reporting was in its infancy and we can only guess that between these lines the street was clear.

Perhaps there was a fear of a rescue, and a triumphal progress through the town, or at least of an inflammatory speech from window or balcony of the house.

But Sir Francis had other resources at his disposal, and was all for the "rigour of the game." He at once applied to the Sheriffs of Middlesex to call out the *posse comitatus*, to protect him against the military force with which his house was beset. The Sheriffs were the "constituted officers to protect their bailiewick or sheriffdom." The letter was delivered to Sheriff (afterwards Sir Matthew) Wood in the street; but according to the Speaker's diary, Wood, radical though he was, and a supporter of Burdett, told the Serjeant-at-Arms that he was "on his side." [1]

Another day had gone by and Sir Francis, though "beset," was not taken. It was still an open question whether the Speaker could break open doors in execution of his warrant. He could and did censure the Serjeant for failing to arrest Sir Francis, and the mob, spite of the Life Guards, expressed its feeling by shouting "Burdett for ever," breaking windows and pelting the soldiers with glass bottles and stones. The official report of the night of April 7 was "no deaths, but two or three soldiers wounded."

On Sunday morning (April 8) the Serjeant and his deputy again demanded entrance at the house and were again refused. All the Speaker could do was to order them to keep watch and serve Sir Francis if he came out; and, so

[1] The Serjeant must have misunderstood the Sheriff, or the Sheriff must have gone over to the enemy, for according to a contemporary "Narrative" the Sheriffs, Wood and Atkins, did come to the rescue with the *posse comitatus* in their train, and it was in response to their demand that a space was cleared and the soldiers compelled to withdraw to a distance of a hundred yards on either side of the house. The Sheriffs, we are told, were not of one mind. Wood had no doubt, and told Sir Francis that the warrant was an illegal process, but Atkins was not so bold and halted between two opinions. Perhaps it was on second thoughts that Wood offered to assist the Serjeant in the execution of his warrant, or possibly the officer in command of the Life Guards was not so complaisant as the author of the "Narrative" believed or reported.

to Church! "After Church the Chancellor and Perceval came to talk over the defective powers of warrants from either House of Parliament."

> "Alas when evil men are strong
> No life is good, no pleasure long!"

Whether Thomas Coutts urged Sir Francis to hold out or to submit there is nothing to show. He was seventy-five years of age, and to say nothing of the safety of his house and property or the feelings of alarm of his aged wife and of his daughter Lady Guilford, he could not have suffered gladly the attentions of the mob or the manœuvres of the Life Guards. He, too, was in a state of siege, and must have procured a constable before he could pass the troops on his way to the Strand. But whatever he may have felt he knew that it was useless to argue or remonstrate with his son-in-law. Not so such friends and sympathizers as Coke of Norfolk and Whitehead, "who in the midst of his entrenchment called upon him on the Sunday and reasoned with him strongly against the course he had determined to pursue." They argued that the principle which he upheld was correct, but that it was a mistake to uphold it at the cost of riot and bloodshed. No such scruples assailed the authorities who had provoked the strife. At five o'clock the Speaker "saw the Life-Guards advancing through the Park and Stable Yard to Piccadilly." The Riot Act was read a second time, and as the people would not disperse the magistrates had called in the soldiers to keep the peace or to make war.

That night, after a final interview with the Speaker, the Serjeant made up his mind that, on the whole, it was safer to take Sir Francis by assault and battery than not to take him at all. He was between the Devil and the deep sea—the wrath of the Speaker and of the baffled House of Commons, or an action at law. The known was more formidable than the unknown, and early on Monday morning

he went to Perceval and told him that on *his own responsibility* he would effect a forcible entry. The Serjeant had broken the bonds of red tape in sunder, and with a light heart the Government not only gave him as many soldiers as he wanted, " but promised to protect and indemnify him to the utmost of their power."

On the morning of Monday the 9th of April, when " breakfast was just finished," a body of troops was drawn up in front of the house, and under cover of this force the siege began. The first attack was directed against the drawing-room. A constable had mounted by a ladder, but when his face appeared at the window Mr O'Connor put his hand on his breast and drew down the sash. A second or simultaneous assault was more successful. One or more of the constables climbed the railings, forced the area gate, and burst open the basement-window " sashes frame and all." In rushed the *posse* with their staves and, according to one account, in rushed the soldiers and lined the staircase, but narratives vary and the soldiers are supposed to have been visualised by the servants.

By what means the Serjeant and his deputy entered the house is not recorded, but they preceded the magistrate and constables into the drawing-room. There they found Sir Francis in the midst of his family. Mr Coutts had just retired, but Lady Burdett, Mrs Coutts, Lady Guilford and her three daughters were all present and, so we are told, " in the scene which ensued displayed a courage that did honour to their understanding and their hearts." Sir Francis himself was teaching his son Robert, who was home from Eton, to read and translate *Magna Charta*. At least so runs the tale, told apparently in good faith and without even " one satiric touch." Nothing remained but to read the warrant and to arrest the prisoner. But even to the last Sir Francis protested that the law was on his side, that there was no sufficient warrant to arrest his person in the open street, much less to break open his house.

"A NEW CURE FOR JACOBINISM, OR A PEEP IN THE TOWER"

To "a proper officer of the king he would pay instant obedience, but to an illegal order he would not yield." "Then," writes the Speaker, "the Serjeant touched him by the arm, and Sir Francis Burdett with his brother and a servant went downstairs."

That, no doubt, was the Serjeant's report. The Annual Register gives another version of the actual arrest, but the one story is as good and, perhaps, as accurate as the other.

It is one thing to get the man of the moment out of his house and into a glass coach, and another to take him through the streets to the Tower. The Government had set itself to silence and to punish Sir Francis, but they had enough on their hands without trying conclusions with the mob, a mob, be it remembered, which had the middle classes on its side. The first precaution was to send a small army as escort, and the second was to avoid passing through Westminster and to fetch a compass by Bond Street, Great Portland Street, the New Road and thence into Aldersgate Street and along the Minories to the Tower. If it had been the "Corsican Tyrant" himself his person could not have been more securely guarded. But in spite of this unwilling tribute to his power and influence, if the Speaker was rightly informed, "Sir Francis while carrying to the Tower was apparently in low spirits, and said little." It is pleasanter to have made, than to be making history. To the huzzas of the mob he was indifferent, and the humour of the situation did not appeal to him.

The "Compass" was fetched in safety, though not without some loss of life, and at a quarter past twelve the cavalcade rode up towards the Tower Gates. Three hundred of the 15th Light Dragoons and two hundred Horse Guards preceded, and two hundred more of the 15th followed, the coach. As the procession entered by the farther side of Trinity House, it came on Tower Hill in a serpentine form, and the military spectacle was very grand. "The carriage stopped at the palisade of the Tower near the lions, and

Sir Francis Burdett with the Serjeant went on foot over the bridge and under the gateway to the Governor's apartments. Lord Moira met him upon his entrance and offered him the whole range of the Tower, if he would give his word of honour not to pass the gates." The Tower guns, as custom decreed, fired a grim and sinister salute, and the Gate was immediately closed.

Such is the tale, according to the various and varying reports of contemporary witnesses. Two hurried notes from Lady Burdett to her daughter Sophia, who had remained with her other children at Wimbledon, slight as they are, will serve to illustrate a page of history.

Lady Burdett to her daughter Sophia (afterwards the Honble. Mrs Otway-Cave).

My Dearest Sophia,

In greatest haste and *flurry* I write to tell you yr Papa was taken from his house this morning between eleven and twelve. A troop of Horse and Magistrates were set to force the doors which yr Papa had ordered to be shut—but *thank God he* is *quite* safe and secured tho' in the Tower. I need not say (tho' I know him to be *safe*) how much this has agitated me, tho' the conviction of his safety helps most powerfully to quiet my poor nerves. I send off this line in *great haste* to catch the Post, tho' you may be sure of a Letter this evening, as I cannot spare the coachman, not knowing at *present* whether I can go to the Tower or no this evening, I must wait for some further notice. My little Clara[1] being so much better has acted like *opium* upon my nerves, as my anxiety for her had kept them in perpetual agitation—the load being off my spirits has been a great help to me. God bless you all—kiss each other tenderly for yr affect. mama.

[1] Clara Maria, fourth daughter of Sir Francis Burdett, was born in 1806, married April 27, 1850 the Rev. James Drummond Money, Rector of Sternfield, Suffolk. She died December 22, 1899.

I cannot just now say *when* I shall be at Wimbledon, but as soon as I possibly can I shall.

Thank you, sweet Sophia, for yr kind little note. I assure you I have often thought of you and hope we shall soon see you. God bless you.

No harm can happen to Papa and I hope all will be well.

April 9, 1810. Papa forced from his home and taken by a military force to the Tower. *He is safe* but *thinking* will *drive* me *mad*. What a day!

[This letter, signed Sophia B., is addressed to Miss Burdett, Wimbledon Common, Surrey. It was dispatched by the 3 o'clock post, Monday, 9th April. The postmark is 9 April 1810.]

Lady Burdett to her daughter Sophia, afterwards the Hon. Mrs Otway-Cave.

[*Tuesday, April* 10, 1810.]

My Dearest Sophia,

I was so harass'd and busy this morning it was impossible for me to write, so I sent a verbal message by Jones that you might know I was as well as could be expected, better indeed. I was obliged to lie in bed till past twelve to-day, having undergone so much fatigue yesterday. The going to the Tower five miles over the rough stones, was no little fatigue to *me* in itself, and the agitation, mobs, etc., very overcoming. Your Papa has very comfortable apartments and is perfectly well—that last is *the greatest comfort*, so I hope all is well that ends well, or at least *will* be well. I am very happy the dear little girls are not disturbed by knowing what they could not understand, and that dear Clara is so good a girl—kiss her most affectionately for me and tell [her] I always said she would be my bird of *comfort* in the end, when her dear judgement began to be exercised. Kiss Kate—Joanna I mean for me, but say *Kate* to her for me—she will understand, little dear. I believe Clara's amendment has been the means of saving my nerves from another violent attack, for I'm made so happy

by her being so much better, that it cheers me up considerably. I shall I think come down to you to-morrow, but must return again on Thursday if I do. You may tell Wm. Latimer to keep a little dinner ready for me about five, but I shall be down, if I can, before that—indeed I long *much, much* to kiss you all again, and to see your dear sweet faces. If I can bring one of your cousins with me, I will, but I do not know that I shall get leave. They will have a deal to tell you.

God bless you, my dearest girl.

By all means get Susan a new pair of shoes.

Ever yr affect.

S. BURDETT.

Miss Burdett.

(On the back)

> " Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
> Thy God's and Truth's, then if thou fall'st—
> Thou fall'st a blessed Martyr."
> [" K. Henry VIII." iv. 2.]

(? in the girl's handwriting.)

The " martyr of liberty," if we may judge from a note which is printed in the *Creevey Papers* (i. 133), made the most of the situation :—

TOWER, *May* 10, 1810.

DEAR CREVEY,

Pray look into this case—a job of the *Church*. When will [you] come again to dine ? You shall have *two* bottles of claret next time, and as good fish.

Yours,

F. BURDETT.

I hope Mrs Crevey is well.

On June 21st Parliament was prorogued, and the two political prisoners, Burdett in the Tower, and Gale Jones in Newgate, *ipso facto* obtained their release. Great preparations had been made to celebrate the happy event.

"Gentlemen from the country on horseback, four abreast . . . electors of Westminster on foot six abreast, carriages containing members of the Common Council and many liverymen of London" were to escort the popular hero from the gates of the Tower to his house in Piccadilly. But alas! to the dismay of this "popular rout," at half-past four o'clock three placards were suspended over the gates of the Tower with the following inscription:—"Sir Francis Burdett left the Tower by water at half-past three o'clock." Within a few minutes of the prorogation it had been announced by a "sort of telegraphic communication from Westminster." The prisoner was discharged and rowed across the water to the Surrey side, where his brother William Jones Burdett was waiting to accompany him on horseback to his villa at Wimbledon. The procession was reformed, with Sir F. Burdett's phaeton in the place of honour, but no Sir Francis thereon to accept the homage of the crowd.

> "What spread from face to face that wondering air?
> The thought of Brutus—for *his* was not there." [1]

None the less the cavalcade, such as it was, reached Piccadilly at 8 o'clock, and at the signal "Lights up" there was a general illumination. But popular idol though he was, he did not escape a specific remonstrance from two members of the Westminster Committee, nor the general verdict, that in discouraging a popular demonstration he had "observed the same artificial conduct to his political followers" as he had, in the first instance, to the Serjeant-at-Arms before he was sent to the Tower. His defence was that "an expression of public sentiment was absolutely necessary, but that his presence might be dispensed with; and that as his progress to the Tower had resulted in bloodshed, he would not be responsible for a single accident in connection with his return."

[1] *Poetical Works of Lord Byron*, 1904, vii. 17.

It cannot be said that he lacked courage, or that he shrank from personal risk and inconvenience in what he believed to be the cause of freedom, either in 1810, or, again, in 1820. But as to his supporters, it was enough that they should be loyal to him, and for their feelings or their proper pride he cared not at all. Chantrey, who knew him well, explained to Hobhouse that "Burdett's mind is not framed so as to feel the impropriety of trifling inattentions . . . the very absence of some virtues is, in human composition, necessary for the formation of some other and greater qualities."[1] He was a finer gentleman and, on the whole, a better man than his friend Lord Byron, but they were alike in one respect. They were all for liberty—but equality? *C'est autre chose.*

Correspondence

April 18 *to December* 13, 1810

I

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

Wednesday, 18*th* [*April* 1810].

Your kind heart will rejoice to hear that yesterday evening I received letters dated 7 Feby from Lady Bute, all safe at Palermo in Sicily. She was on the whole I hope in such a state as to promise very speedily being better when she shall have recovered the torment of the month at sea which on the whole agreed very ill with her, and the inquietude and turmoil and constant harrassing life on board still worse. She was much weaker and thinner, but still on the whole in good spirits—tolerable appetite, and we must hope the best. After reading all over she wrote me, I want to converse with the moon, and to think of my dearest Harriot at nine o'Clock, praying Heaven to watch over bless and preserve her in health

[1] *Recollections of a Long Life*, 1809, pp. 46, 176.

and spirits; and to give her strength of mind to bear with things which imperious necessity makes unavoidable, and never to allow temporary separation, or any circumstances to disturb her feelings to such a degree as of late, putting her life as well as mine at hazard—also to impute every disagreeable incident concerning a respected relative at Cheltenham, to the true cause, and not to permit it to oppress and trouble her in the cruel degree it has too often done, as I have witnessed in the last six Years. You tell me always '*you cannot help it!*' To which I answer *you can*, and will, whenever you look the matter in the face and determine not to suffer either *through me or her*, in the way you have done. So far as it relates to me, it is making what I wish to be your happiness a most dreadful misfortune. Do not be angry with me for teizing with thus preaching to you. I am sorry indeed to do it, but it is of so first rate importance to you as well to me, that I cannot refrain and I hope in the end to succeed, for it is meant with the most pure and affectionate feelings of kindness.

Lady Burdett has been uncommonly well and merry these three days, and she is going up to Town to-morrow to visit the Prisoner.[1] Her boy has been here who is become strikingly like her, tho' his eyes are smaller and not so well placed in the countenance. He is the most delicate of her family and much the most like her.

Most probably I may be made happy this evening by a line from your dear hand. I shall write again on Friday.

I wish I could send you Lady Bute's letters but I will keep them for you. The weather here is very pleasant, rather cold and sometimes wet but not to any excess, and Lady B's little daughter is getting quite well.

I hope Mr Graham[2] will go to you at Cheltenham, but I doubt of the fears of the great permitting him to depart.

Lady Guilford is gone up to Town to-day about some of her business, but I do not think I shall be there till

[1] Sir F. Burdett was conveyed to the Tower on April 9, 1810.

[2] Graham was a police magistrate, and the "fears of the great" were due to alarmist rumours of a general rising of the mob to avenge the capture and imprisonment of Sir F. Burdett.

Wednesday, and not then if I hear from you that you remain longer.

May Heaven bless you, My Dearest Harriot. I kiss you most affectionately here—just here.

I shall write on Friday, Good Friday, and pray it may be good for you sweet Angel!

To
Miss Mellon,
The Post Office.
Cheltenham.

II

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

Friday, [*April 20th,* 1810].

I send this up to you by Lady Burdett who is going to the Tower finding I cannot get away myself, but to-morrow I shall be with you at Twelve. I Hope you will get well through without cold or harm to-night, Dearest Volante!

Lady G. seemed quite disappointed not to see you to-night. She meant to have gone but circumstances have rendered it impossible for her or me. She comes to Town with me to-morrow.

My Dearest and best Harriot, Bless you Ever.

III

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

Tuesday 11*th* [*September* 1810].

DEAREST LOVE,

Dr Ruddiman advises our staying to-day; but thinks we may go to-morrow, and I think he will go *with* us. Lady Bute has written him a letter inviting him to Sidmouth.

I am quite well dearest Harriot, and I hope to-morrow's post may bring me good news of you. Here to-day it is very cold—winter seems already to peep in his frosty face, and you see the O.P. are begun again. Kemble

"THE BURDETTITES HOAX'D"

would have acted more wisely to have complied with all the public asked at first, and gone on till Drury Lane was built, and then both Theatres stated their situation, and the dearness of every article forcing them humbly to propose additional prices. In this way I make no doubt all would have gone smooth, and full consent been given without opposition or grumbling.[1]

After the Lyceum Summer ends, next Saturday, I suppose a week will be necessary to prepare the theatre for the winter. If you have not written to-day pray write to-morrow for I shall be anxious to hear.

I hope you are careful in your diet, and never eat anything that usually disagrees. Health is the first of blessings after peace of mind. Your health and your happiness my dear, affectionate, kind, Love is the first and greatest object of my life and to see it will be the means of prolonging my years, tho' you say I have *already had a good spell.* The Peace of God and my Blessing ever attend you Dearest Dearest!

What fine moon and stars we have had every night, I look out constantly and think of you.

IV

Friday, 14th September 1810.
Morning, Ten.

If you knew all I have suffered since I wrote yesterday you would pity me I know. On coming home I found Mrs Coutts suffering a great deal of pain, which continued the whole evening and all night that this morning, Ruddiman not yet come from Windsor, I could bear it

[1] On the first night of this season [September 10, 1810] twelve centre boxes of the private circle were thrown open to the public—no more private boxes were retained than there had been in the old theatre before the fire, but because the Crown and Anchor treaty was not strictly adhered to the O.P. riots were renewed . . . it would have been more prudent if the Proprietors of C.G. had waited till D.L. had been rebuilt and opened, they would then have brought forward their appeal with a better grace, and the animosity of their opponents would probably have been softened by time. Genest, *History of the Stage*, viii., 223-224.

no longer, not daring to prescribe myself; so I sent for Dr Saunders who so far calmed my mind as he said there was no fever in the pulse; a little heat on the skin might proceed from agitation and covering herself over with bed clothes etc. He has ordered her a draft, but he is obliged to go out of Town to-day to a son of his own who is extremely ill. However I am almost sure we shall have Ruddiman back to-day.

I shall write more before the post hour. As to this, and as to the probability of our motions, I still think we shall go, but I can not judge of this disorder. All I know is, that my distress is great, and quite wears me out. Your dear letter is no small comfort to me and the thoughts of your pure mind, your sincere affection, and sweet feelings in every thing that concerns me are always most pleasing to me. Heaven bless and reward you! my dearest Love, will ever be my sincere wish, and prayer to The Almighty to whom your truth and honour is known, and who must delight in your virtuous mind. But when you come on the subject of your misery on account of my absence, or temporary separation from you, you quite upset me; for in that I see everything that is terrible in its consequences for you and to myself, without the least power or possibility of preventing it.

You do not *wish* to prevent these feelings, and how much do I owe you in gratitude for such a wish! Yet what would I not sacrifice to get you the same power which I have acquired by perseverance, not to make myself miserable for what I cannot prevent? I earnestly wish you to enjoy the fine air and the bathing at Brighton as long as you can while the weather is good, but if you fret and torment yourself, *what good can be expected*? what mischief do you not bring on yrself, and by consequence on me! my Dearest Harriot? Yet were it ten times worse, I should still be grateful and thankful to you for the kind and sweet, lovely, motive.

It is now three o'clock, and Dr Ruddiman not appeared. I have sent a man on horseback to Old Windsor to make sure of him at night. I am on the rack till he comes unable to determine anything. If he comes by Five I will let you know.

I think you may as well put your letters into the inclosed franks. I see your Company begin on Thursday, but I daresay you need not think of them till October.

V

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

Sunday, November 10th, 1810.

This I hope will come to your dear hands on your birth day. I do not believe I could send you any gift more acceptable than telling you I am in spite of bad weather and old age quite well *and hearty*, with a very warm corner of an ancient heart most tenderly kind and truly affectionate to you. Knowing and feeling gratefully how much I owe to all your uncommon goodness to me on every occasion, and most devoutly praying you may be long preserved in perfect health, and with every comfort the world can give, to see and enjoy many birthdays, and that I may congratulate you as I do now most cordially with the kindest kisses, and wishes for every blessing to attend you, till the good Angels who delight in honour and virtue, generosity and benevolence, like yours, shall waft you to their realms of everlasting happiness prepared for you in Heaven.

Amen, Amen! Dearest and best of women!

On Tuesday the Ceremony at Windsor closes and I suppose you will soon hear when the world, on which the poor Lady[1] has turned her back, may again begin their public festivities and amusements.

We had a most turbulent stormy night of violent rain and high wind, which continued till noon to-day. Pray keep warm and comfortable, for people, I understand, are beset by rheumatism, lumbago, etc. Your waistcoats and stockings, shoes and the comfortable remembrance of your kind eyes conveying the sweet virtuous emanations of your sweet heart, protect me from every ill, but you must be careful, for you know how easily you are hurt in mind and body, and though your sensibility is the foundation of

[1] The Princess Amelia was buried at Windsor on the evening of Thursday, November 14, 1810.

all goodness, yet there is the tax on it of being too easily injured—so much so that at the moment one is almost tempted to wish you were without it, forgetting that *then* you would not be the charming creature you are.

VI

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

13th December 1810.

We were going to bed when Lady G. came home last night, but she whispered me she had seen you and I was happy; but I have not seen her since. By the inclosed you will see Fanny wants Kelly's song. I should suppose [it] is not too heavy for a frank with half a sheet of paper directed to the Marquess of Bute, Post Office, Exeter.[1] I shall write to Fanny to-day that I have ordered it to be so sent, if not above privilege. If it is too heavy, you may keep it till I write again.

The Magic Lanthern to go by Dumfries[2] I know you will provide; also the music of Macbeth. How happy I am to give you commissions and to have an agent so willing, so kind, so affectionate, so good, and so sensible! How hard I should be confined by this nasty leg! yet it is greatly better and I walk pretty easily in the room. . . .

May Heaven preserve and bless my Dearest Harriot, best and most beloved, Ever, Ever, Ever!

Ly. G. as she was going has whispered me that she should go to the Strand to-day and meant if possible to call upon you. I Hope she will. She wishes to tell you to use the lace in any way you please. I Hope she will bring me word you are well. I am distracted with fears about you, and that you will work yrself up to be uneasy about me. Depend upon it there is no need. I am quite well in health and the accident happily recovering.

[1] Lady Bute was living at this time at Cowley House, three miles from Exeter.

[2] Lord Bute's eldest grandson, afterwards second Marquis of Bute. He succeeded his maternal grandfather as sixth Earl of Dumfries in 1803.

CHAPTER XXVII

A BUNDLE OF LOVE LETTERS

"I am a very foolish, fond old man."—*King Lear*, iv. 7.

THOMAS COUTTS was a constant and liberal patron of the drama. He owned a private box at Covent Garden as well as at Drury Lane, and in 1810–1812, when the theatre was being rebuilt after the fire in 1809, he followed the Company to their place of refuge, and took a box at the Lyceum. The assignment of the use of these boxes to friends and patrons was a matter of anxious consideration, but when he had satisfied the claims or petitions of his married daughters and of his royal clients, he placed his boxes at the disposal of Harriot Mellon. To the plays which were advertised for the following week or fortnight, and to possible occupants of the several boxes, there are frequent allusions in his love letters, but of Harriot's own acting, or of the parts she was playing in London or the provinces, little or nothing is said. He was an experienced, if not an enlightened, critic of the stage, and, possibly, he found it easier and pleasanter to extol the virtue and to dwell on the charms of his "sweet young friend"[1] than to appraise her quality as an artist. We know, however, from other sources that from 1805 onward, and down to, and even after, her marriage, she was a regular and prominent member of the Drury Lane Company, and was earning salaries which might have enabled her to live in comfort if not in luxury, apart from the stocks and shares and small landed estates which

[1] This phrase, or, rather, perhaps *paraphrase*, occurs in more than one of Lady Bute's letters to her father.

Coutts settled upon her, doubtless with the object of making her appear to be a woman of fortune living on her own means and not in receipt of an allowance. She never reached the position of leading lady, but the parts for which she was generally cast may be described as leading parts, which would not have been entrusted to a careless actress who could atone for all defects by her personal charm, by the winsomeness and gaiety of her smiles and her demeanour. It was enough for her enemies that she *was* attractive, and that without being first-rate she was successful and popular. After 1810 her name does not often appear in Genest's intricate and bewildering *Account of the Stage*, but it is recorded that she appeared in *The Country Girl*, which was played nine times at the Lyceum in 1811, as Vilette in *She Would and She Would Not* in January, as Tilburina in *The Critic* in May, and as Nell in *The Devil to Pay* in October 1812. In January 1813 she acted Maria in *Twelfth Night*, and in the following February Mrs Candour in the *School for Scandal*, and lastly, on April 2, 1814, on the occasion of her friend Raymond's benefit, she was cast for Mrs Placid in *Every One has his Fault*. These occasional appearances seem to have been entered for no particular reason, but just as her name chanced to turn up in Genest's haphazard memoranda.

Long years before, when the *affaire* Coutts was still in its infancy, she played the part of Melesinda in Lamb's once-acted and for-ever-damned *Mr H*. How little could she have guessed when the curtain was rung down that she had witnessed and taken part in an event of greater interest and concern to some who were yet unborn than aught that befell, or could befall, her in the rest of her private or public career! Lamb seems to have remembered her for good—perhaps she had looked kindly on the unknown and unlucky author—for in October 1822, when there was a talk of getting up a subscription for Godwin, he thought of interesting Mrs Coutts, then a six months widow and

millionairess, on his behalf. Shelley had "gone down into the deep," and his father-in-law, the philosopher, was rather more than usually insolvent. He must, indeed, often have smiled to himself when he passed the gates of Holly Lodge on his way Highgate-wards, as he bethought him of Drury Lane and Melesinda, but alas! he kept silent from what must surely have been a "good word" as well as a pleasant jest. If ever there was a case of "Ships that pass in the night," it was Charles Lamb and the future Duchess of St Albans.

In the four years which preceded his second marriage, 1811-1814, Coutts may have written sixty or seventy letters to Harriot Mellon. He wrote to relieve his own sorrows and anxieties, and at the same time to indulge his passion for his absent friend. Here and there these letters piece out the record of his daily life, but they depend for their interest on the revelation of character. They throw some light on Harriot's private affairs, her distressful relations with her mother and stepfather, and on the quarrel with her companion Sally Stephenson, which seems to have involved her former friend and patron, Aaron Graham, the Stipendiary at Bow Street. Troubles, no doubt, she had in plenty, due to the emotional good nature which met with abuse, and almost inevitable ingratitude, and, in still greater measure, to outbursts of indignation and the assertion of an imperious self-will. She would have been more than human if she had never been swayed and goaded by that "will to power" which the sure possession of unlooked-for wealth implants in the human breast.

So far as the writer is concerned, the letters afford convincing proof that his wife's insanity was an affliction which he did his utmost to share and to alleviate. If he had not loved his "poor companion" to the last, he would not have hesitated to resign her to the care of hired attendants, or suffered such poignant misery from the sight of her sufferings and the sound of her complaints.

Something, too, may be said for his love of nature, which neither age nor wealth " could utterly abolish or destroy." His naïve confessions of delight in the calm and starry skies, in the early " carrols " of the birds, of the old world garden of the inn at Seven Oaks, which still preserves its beauty, of the sylvan scenery of Penshurst, sound pleasantly in our ears, and confirm the tradition which was handed down in his family that he was " a loving and loveable old man," and dear to his grandchildren in their girlhood as he had been to their mother " when all the world was young."

Since the preceding chapters of this work were written and set up in type a new Life of Harriot Mellon, entitled *The Jolly Duchess*, has been published, and has met, as it deserved, with a favourable reception. I do not, of course, propose to review or reply to the work as a whole, but the author, Mr Charles C. Pearce, has reprinted in an Appendix (pp. 317–322) portions of two articles which were published in the *Age* on August 13 and 20, 1837. A single sentence in one of these articles, which were new to me, reflects on the character of Thomas Coutts and merits the fullest consideration. The sentence runs as follows: " The rich banker had for a long period previous to his intimacy with Miss Mellon lived with or rather provided a splendid establishment for Mrs Martyr the singer, who resided in Long Acre in the magnificent apartments over Hatchetts, the King's coachmakers; but Mr Coutts, calling there one evening unexpectedly, was informed that . . . Parkes (? Parke), the celebrated oboe-player, rather more than shared the favour of the lady with him, consequently he broke off the intimacy, paid the lady's debts, and left his rival in quiet possession of the false fair one " (pp. 318–19).

The story as told has an air of truth, and unquestionably, if true, it reflects not only on the " rich banker " and the opera-singer, but on his subsequent relations with Harriot Mellon. *Qui a bu boira!* But is it true? Richard Molloy Westmacott, the editor of the *Age* and supposed writer of

the articles in question, was, as Mr Pearce informs us, a notorious blackmailer and libeller, the "Hir'd fag of Journals to revile the town," who had been thrashed by Charles Kemble for an abusive attack in the *Age* on his daughter Fanny. In 1827, when the article appeared, a week after the death of the Duchess of St Albans, the opera-singer Mrs Martyr had been dead thirty and Thomas Coutts more than fifteen years, and after this interval of time proof or disproof of such a statement was alike unattainable. On the other hand, in 1815, or even in 1824, when the disappointed blackmailers were assailing their victims, some hanger-on of the stage would have raked up the story for their benefit, but there is nothing in the way of hint or innuendo *ad hoc* in any one of the defamatory pamphlets which were out for the grossest scandal. Moreover, the article is capable of disproof not only in respect of "slips," as Mr Pearce admits, but to errors of fact, which tend to invalidate the story as a whole. To give one instance, the writer affirms that Miss Mellon was "personally well known in earlier life, when an actress at York Theatre," to the writer of this journal, and that she was discovered by old Tate Wilkinson, the then manager of the York Company, who transferred the promising Miss Harriett Malone to the York Company, altering her patronymic to the more Anglicised cognomen of Mellon." Now it is certain that on July 14, 1782,[1] long before the "promising Harriett" could have joined any company, her mother bore the name of Mellon, not Malone. It is true that she could not write, and signed her name with a mark, but she gave the name of Mellon to the Curate of Brampton in Cumberland, who married her to Thomas Entwisle, and who wrote it down plain in the register of the church, where it remains to the present day. Now if the mother, a widow of full age, was then called Mellon, it follows that the daughter bore the

[1] The mutilated copy of the register which I assumed to be genuine and which appeared to be of interest, as the long-preserved marriage lines of

Harriot's mother, has been printed on pp. 230-1 of this volume. I have since procured a fresh copy of the original, which runs as follows:—

Certificate of Marriage.

Pursuant to the Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Acts, 1836 to 1898.

1782. Marriage solemnized at the Parish Church in the Parish of Brampton, in the County of Cumberland.

No.	1 When Married.	2 Name and Surname.	3 Age.	4 Condition.	5 Rank or Profession.	6 Residence at the time of Marriage.	7 Father's Name and Surname.	8 Rank or Profession of Father.
328	July 14th 1782	THOMAS ENTWISLE	A Minor	Bachelor		Bolton-le-Moor in the County Palatine of Lancaster and Diocese of Chester		
		SARAH MELLON	Full	Widow		Brampton		

Married in the Parish Church according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Established Church by Licence by me GEO. GILBANKS, *Curate.*

This Marriage was solemnized between us, { THOMAS ENTWISLE / SARAH MELLON Her X Mark } in the presence of us, { GEORGE DALRYMPLE / ISAAC ELLIOT }

I, *Thomas Armstrong, Vicar of Brampton, in the County of Cumberland, do hereby certify that this is a true copy of the Entry No.* 328 *in the Register Book of Marriages for the said Parish Church, and that such Register Book is now legally in my custody.*

Witness my hand this 24th day of January 1916. THOS. ARMSTRONG.

With the Consent of his Father.

same name, and that the story of the change from Malone to Mellon is a lie.

Further on in the same article there is a repetition of the tale of Wewitzer's "brokerage," and the capitulation of the lady to the offer "of seven blank cheques to be filled up to an amount not to exceed one hundred thousand pounds." But this is evidently a *réchauffé* of the original mess of pottage which was first served up by Mr Percy Wyndham in his *Strictures on an Imposter and Old Actress*, etc., and may be sent away from the table untasted. A writer who cared for nothing but to sell his garbage can pile one lie upon another, but, none the less, *litera scripta manet*, and the more reasonable charge of an earlier intrigue cannot be wholly disregarded because it is imbedded in falsehood and proceeds from the pen of a notorious scandal-monger and blackmailer. But it may be dismissed as non-proven.

One more point remains to be dealt with. The editor of the *Age* maintains that "old Coutts imposed his *chère amie* upon his amiable wife and daughters as his illegitimate offspring born before his knowledge of the mother, and in this character she was kindly received by the first Mrs Coutts, who up to the period of her death believed her to be so."

To this incredible story Mrs Barron Wilson gives her countenance. "From her steady demeanour she was generally considered by her friends to be *an acknowledged daughter of Mr Coutts*; and from the friendship shown to her by his daughters they had possibly formed a similar conclusion" (*Memoirs*, 1887, i. 306). Now Coutts was married to Susannah Starkie in 1769, and in 1811, when Lady Guilford was corresponding with her father's "sweet young friend," the "*acknowledged* daughter" must have been more than middle-aged. Moreover, it is plain from the tone of these communications that the daughters understood the nature of their father's infatuation for his protégée, but they were prepared to indulge him up to a certain point;

and, moreover, that they believed in her innocence. As to her having been introduced to their mother, there is not a shadow of evidence that she was ever admitted to the house in Stratton Street, or that the first Mrs Coutts knew of her existence. It may have been so, but the letters afford no clue. The father loved his daughters, the daughters adored their father, but their own fortunes and the fortunes of their children depended on the good-will of the "richest man in England," and so long as their mother lived they were prepared to make the best of a difficult and delicate situation.

Correspondence

June 12, 1811—*September* 14, 1814

I

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

Wednesday, June 12th, 1811.

Since yesterday at one o'clock it has almost never ceased raining. Dr Ruddiman has agreed to go with us to Sidmouth; but he did not approve of our going to-day. With care he thinks the journey will be of service to Mrs C. Your dear, affectionate, kind, sensible letter to-day has been the greatest comfort to me! Many thanks for it! I assure you it makes me for the time quite happy.

I really think we shall go to-morrow. It is wonderful the change for the better on her appearance and every way yesterday. . . . Her spirits, too, improved and in spite of the rain we went all, including the doctor to the Lyceum. I spoke to Raymond[1] and found they close the summer season on Saturday, for his benefit I shall send him £5.

I asked him when they opened, and he believed on

[1] James Grant Raymond was stage-manager of the Drury Lane and Lyceum Theatres. An intimate friend of Harriot Mellon, he was one of the witnesses of her marriage in 1815 (*vide post*, p. 314).

Susan, Countess of Guilford,
with her daughter the Lady Susan North

From a painting in the possession of the Lord North

Wednesday the 19th and said all the Drury Lane people were come round, and glad to be engaged. Arnold offered Mrs Jordan what she had before and anything the House could afford; but it seems, *all* not being so much as Covent Garden can afford, *she goes there*. She shews herself *a Fool*, and the slave of avarice. I spoke of you—and said I hoped they would not desire you to come from Brighton for some time as you were likely to gain health. He said your case was singular as with every appearance of health you were certainly not blessed with it. "What a pity!" said he.

"Aye, indeed," I reply'd, "for I knew no one possessing so many good qualities—the most affectionate, generous heart, with the soundest and best understanding, equalled by very few, surpassed by none." He said every indulgence would be shown and that he dare say you may stay as long as you please. I send you £32 to repay the bill and that you may prolong your stay and get health. You must not act at all to hurt *yourself, that is me.*

Dearest and best, the blessing of Heaven be upon you!

I think I see you dashing among the waves, so fresh and so beautiful.

II

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

Saturday, June 15th, 1811.

I promised my dearest Harriot to write to-day, which I do, though I have not had the comfort of seeing your dear hand. My sufferings have been great and I truly thought the awful moment was near, but Dr R. arrived at nine last night and what he prescribed really worked a miracle, restoring speech, and intelligence of mind, and producing not stupor but really sleep; and she has been better ever since.

As to our moving westward it is in the present situation impossible; but a complaint like this when thoroughly removed leaves nothing behind, but a little weakness which is easily got the better of. We must act according to circumstances for the best; and as to my saying

what we shall do it is impossible, but on the whole it seems probable that we shall not leave London at all, which is hard, considering how much we all long to see dearest Fanny.

Mr Rundell's man, your acquaintance called on Lady Guilford to-day and says the *row* last night exceeded any one of the last Season, that Kemble says he will rather than submit see the Theatre in flames, and that he will shut up the House and appeal to Parliament for redress.

To-morrow I know you will pray for me and if the prayers of the righteous avail, I am sure yours will. I have quite given up all the world. My beard is grown long and I am I am sure a deplorable-looking wretch.

I hope I shall have a line from you, sweetest love, on Monday. Had you been in town I could have had no more, for I have not stirred out or seen any body. Well I hope my lovely Harriot enjoys the sea and gains health dayly and enjoys herself all the while, though she sometimes will sigh for my misery.

That Heaven may bless and preserve her is the constant prayer of my poor heart.

III

Lady Guilford to Harriot Mellon.

June 14th, 1811.

DEAR MISS MELLON,

I am happy, most happy, to say I think dear Papa and Mama pretty well this evening. Dear Miss Mellon, how I do plague you! but if the rest of the trimming is not finished, will you desire Mrs Powell to embroider the remainder upon *satin*. Lady B. thinks it will appear so much better and if Mrs Powell can not procure any ribbon that exactly matches the shining gauze it is of no consequence.

I send this to Mr Graham's, as I thought you would perhaps impart this important affair to Mrs Powell to-night, and understand the Fête will take place on Wednesday. You will be tormented with me again to-morrow, for I intend to call in the course of the morning—and stay

twelve hours, but I shall hasten to conclude or you will say my letters are as tedious as my visits.

God bless you.

Yours affectly,
S. GUILFORD.

STRATTON STREET.
June 14th, 1811.

IV

Lady Guilford to Harriot Mellon.

July 21*st*, 1811.

I am happy to confirm my report of this morning. He is *charmingly well*—what a blessing! and Oh, how thankful we all are! Dr Pearson has *prevailed* upon him to *make assurance double sure*, not to go out to-morrow. I have told him what we agreed; so you will write a line to-morrow as if you were going to Highgate and I think it would *be very prudent* to say "I *rather* fear I shall be obliged to go again to-morrow" (meaning *Wednesday*), for if we can keep him at home another day I feel confident it will be safer. Take no notice of what I have said, only that I told you he had a little swelling in the face. Soon after three I shall hope to see you to-morrow. *All is very comfortable to-night.* What a letter, pray pardon it! I write in sad haste, but very happy thanks to Heaven. God bless you!

1/2 six. I told him I was going to send something to you this evening if he had any thing to say. If he sends a note I shall enclose it in this. Farewell!

V

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

[*October* 11*th*, 1812.]

I was happy you found use to your mind for my box on the opening of D. Lane and that all went so well. Some papers, *The Times*, I think, for one, was very abusive of Elliston and none of them very civil to Rae.

I suppose Wewitzer is still in the King's Bench, as a new man acted "The Jew."

I am grieved and astonished at the state of your house, and the great expence; but do not vex, for I will pay it all for you. Only I hope it will not be to do over again——

VI

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

Sunday. [*October* 18*th*, 1812.]

I have suffered a great deal, since I wrote you at Petworth; or, rather, since arriving here on Friday, I have hardly slept, and Mrs C. has been well. I wished myself a hundred times at home, but still looked forward with comfort to Sunday morning for comfort from your dear hand. I had ordered that no letters should be sent from town for me till Saturday, so to-day I had not a few, but alas! yours was full of troubles. I very strongly suspect Entwisle[1] holds out your mother's illness in order to gain some point, and to get back his lost power over you. She may be perhaps a little unwell to colour her proceeding; but I daresay you will find my conjecture not unfounded. At any rate their cruelty and ingratitude to you should prevent your making yourself and *me* miserable, by means of your filial duty, which is a subject to make you happy and not miserable. For, certainly,

[1] I received your *kind* letter. I have made *myself* a *beggar*, and your *Mother* a *most unhappy wretch*—never knowing my circumstances till now —*and God forgive you for it!* If you was as severe with the wretches about you as you are with me, you would not be so played upon, and as you like the Stevensons better than the society of your mother, *God almighty bless you with it!* Your mother's heart is broken with your letter to me. You know it is not in my power to relieve her. I have made her a *beggar* to serve you. Ask your friend's advice about this, he has a family of his own. Your mother is now thrown into a sick bed, in consequence, and if you wish to add to it return this letter. Ungrateful Harriot Mellon!

T. Entwisle.

Be sure you let your friend see this.

[Addressed to Miss Mellon at A. Graham, Esq., Great Queen Street, London.]

your conscience and your heart must acquit you and whisper comfort, and the approbation of Heaven; and, were the next post to give you an account of your mother's death, you ought to resign yourself to the will of God; and be grateful to His goodness that has enabled you, all through your life, to do more than your duty to your parent, who owes every enjoyment to your affectionate and constant return of good for evil.

No man can have a stronger feeling than myself of what is due from a child to his parents, but I am quite certain were I situated as your are, I would content myself by giving all the aid in my power in the kindest manner, without allowing my heart to be broken or torn to pieces, because my mother and her husband are insensible (or pretend to be so on interested or baser motives) of all I have done. You ought to think yourself accountable to God, not to injure yourself, and next, perhaps, to me, as you cannot vex, fret and torment yourself without ruining my peace and comfort and shortening my days.

. . . . . .

The Post-office is half a mile from our hotel, and a very deep dirty road to it, so that I cannot put in my own letter which annoys me much. I got your little note that you had been at the play. How odd the Houses being so thin! I have given all the Covent Garden Boxes away for this week, Friday excepted, which is yours. May Heaven bless and preserve you my dearest Harriot!

VII

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

[PETERSHAM.] *Saturday* 3 *o'clock.*
[*Autumn*, 1812.]

We passed a most agreeable evening last night. The charming little Fan had prepared a Play with a Prologue of her own composition, and she and her brother and James [1] were the only performers. She was in all she did

[1] The performers in "little Fan's play" were the authoress, Lady Frances, her brother, Lord Dudley Stuart, grandchildren of Thomas Coutts, and their half-nephew, Patrick James Crighton Stuart, a posthumous son of Lord Mount Stuart, eldest son of the first Marquis of Bute.

really admirable and her different dresses, all imagined and made chiefly by herself, were most appropriate and elegant.

Dudley I fear you will not see as he goes to school I believe, on Monday. I shall on that day tell you the hour &c for your visit on Tuesday. After the dance we had a most beautiful table set out with tea and the appendages, and all sorts of nice fruit in great perfection, and all in the most picturesque and elegant stile.

I cannot say I was very well to enjoy it myself any further than the pleasure (no small one) of seeing them all merry and happy, and, having had very good sleep last night, my cold seems quite gone, and it is not so cold to-day, as it was last night, and I am quite another man to-day. Indeed I may say I am quite well, and I am truly thankful, and fervently, and affectionately pray that you, my dearest Harriot, may be well and enjoying pleasure and tranquillity at Holly Lodge.

I have just now read as follows: "Miss Mellon who on all occasions is benevolently disposed ordered every workman about Drury Lane Theatre a pot of porter on striking the scaffold on which one of the Pats asked who the fair Crater was that their throats that hot day were so much indebted to? and being informed that it was Miss Mellon he gratefully exclaimed 'Won't I pray to Holy St Patrick then that such sweet *Fruit* may always be ripe and in *Season*.'"

Morning Chronicle Friday.

May Heaven grant me the happiness of seeing you well and happy on Monday—the first and most anxious wish of my heart.

VIII

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

22nd of October, 1812.

I write this, my Dearest Harriot, early on Thursday morning, again a most boisterous day, the sea furious and the waves mountain-high.

The post not come!—I am in hopes it may bring me a

line from you and I should have been indeed unhappy but for your last (kind always as sincere) in which you said your mother had written you kindly. It appears to me that she cannot be ill, and it also appears that her husband is a worthless, unfeeling brute, who knowing your feelings for your mother endeavours to work upon them and frighten you for his own immediate profit and to get at your money. I should not be surprised if telling you of his debts is done with the same base design on your purse; and it seems very unlikely that the Cheltenham Banker (who I dare say is not overburthened with money) should trust such a man such sums, without any security. Why should he, when he can get 5 p. ct and thanks any where on perfect security, nay, even in Exchequer Bills?

. . . . . .

May Heaven bless you and preserve your health and give you the happiness I wish, and your virtuous affection and goodness so well deserve.

The Post is come but no letter. I shall not write to-morrow unless something occurs from you to urge it—on Sunday I may.

IX

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

BRIGHTON, *Friday.*
November 27th, 1812.

MY DEAREST HARRIOT,

How happy I am on coming here to get your short but sweet kind line of Monday! How thankful that you was quite well and happy! Indeed I well know your kind and affectionately warm feelings for me, and am sure they will never diminish, nor fail to meet with suitable return from me.

We met here Lord Bristol. He wishes us and presses us much to take a house on the West Cliff. You are equally free, he assures us, of the Crowd of Brighton Company there, as if you were at Bognor, with the advantage of better lodgings and better everything, to be got at hand, and easily.

We shall stay till Sunday and then go to Ryegate, sleep there and come to Town on Monday. The next day, Tuesday the first of December, dear little Dudley comes to Stratton Street, and stays with us that day and on Thursday, the 3rd, sets out for Sidmouth with old Mr Jenings.

I have found two letters from dear Fanny. She supposes I am on tour before this and she begs I will send her by Dudley who goes early on Thursday, two pounds of Gunpowder Green Tea (I always send a written note to Twining for it, mentioning for the Marchioness of Bute and the servant who goes pays for it, eighteen shillings a pound I believe); the last three volumes of Miss Edgeworth's fashionable Tales, viz. "Tales of fashionable Life of the Titled"—Harlequin's Dress, two battledores and shuttlecocks. As usual I apply to you to get these things, My good Angel! I should be at a loss what she means by Harlequin's Dress, but you know everything.

What she wants is a Harlequin's jacket, face and cap. James had one when he was little but she does not know how or when it was got, only they thought it very cheap, the whole having cost only two guineas, which makes her remember the price. They are to have a Pantomime in winter and the dress for Dudley would be a great delight. Some of the masquerade shops I should suppose would furnish it; and as to the price I must not mind it; for a boy of ten the size may be guessed. I hope it will not bore you to provide it, to be ready on Wednesday, as he goes early on Thursday.

I have got your dear letter this moment and it makes me very happy, and that Mr Entwisle does not plague you, for he will do it, if he finds he can carry any of his points by doing it.

X

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

Tuesday 22nd [June], 1813.

The journey seemed to be no fatigue. We met Lady G. and Susan at Seven Oaks, and went with them in

the coach to Tunbridge Wells, where we found ourselves in an admirable house, close by Lord Bristol, with all sorts of comfort in our power except that of enjoying them. Dr Ruddiman, after all, could not come, and perhaps we are better without him.

She was wonderfully composed and quiet all the day and her joy at seeing the elder and the younger Susan was very great, and on coming to Tunbridge revived on seeing the other two. She went to an excellent bed very comfortable and quiet, and slept well—the housekeeper having put her to bed. In the morning I rang the bell which was answered by the maid that lately had attended her. She was, on the moment she saw her, immediately in a state of fever and irritation. Her skin became hot, and her whole frame shaking, her lips quivering. If a tiger had come into the room she could not have shown greater signs of fear or agitation. A sad scene ensued, but I succeeded in getting her to lay down on the bed with me, and by keeping her free from speaking, she got a little better. Mrs Millard then came and helped on her cloaths and we got breakfast tolerably quiet; since which she has been more quiet and got on her cloaths, and seems better. But the prospect is bad, for it will be impossible for her even to *see* Lady Bristol, much more to go to her house.

My poor head fails as you may perceive—I can hardly write, but I am on the whole wonderfully well and I hope I shall be preserved for you, my dearest Harriot, I will do all in my power and I hope you will be well and happy. That is the medicine best like to restore me, so pray kindly attend to yourself for my sake. Be well and, to be so, be happy.

The beauty of the garden in the Inn at Seven Oaks is alone worth a journey there to look at it and the Country all the way is truly charming.

Heaven and all good Angels bless and preserve you!

The wedding yesterday of the Duke of Dorset's sister at Sevenoaks to Lord Delawarr[1] made such a stir on the

[1] George John, fifth Earl of Delawarr, was married June 21, 1813, to Lady Elizabeth Sackville (afterwards Baroness Buckhurst), sister of the fourth Duke of Dorset, who was killed in the hunting field.

road, there was no horses to be had and people could not get along.

XI

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

23rd June, 1813.

If you buy the estate [in Essex] to-morrow, or before I come to Town, I think can easily pay the deposit. I dare say Mr Wright would advance it; you can tell him you shall have the whole before the rest is wanted, and will very honestly repay him, with thanks.

I have rather a melancholy time here, for I never go out and cannot go to Lord Bristol's and leave Mama, but she is tolerably quiet in general, when she does not interfere with "*the Devils, the Maids.*" It is a most strange insanity. . . .

Heaven bless you and grant you may long enjoy them with health, peace and happiness, dearest Harriot.

XII

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

25th Friday. [*June*, 1813.]

Your dearest most affectionate comfortable letter this morning has done me much good; and it is a delicious day, so that I hope nothing has occurred to prevent my dear Fanny's visit to Holly Lodge. If so I have nothing to wish for but that I might have been with you instead of Lord Bute, who, by a letter from dearest Fanny to-day she tells me, has insisted on going with her. I wish he had instead insisted on staying at home. You would both have been happier without him, or the honour of his presence.

I wish you my sweet Harriot to give £5 for me to poor Mrs Sparks. I know it will please your kind heart.

I have a dismal begging letter from Mrs Powell, with her bill, 12th July, to which I will give no answer. I am sorry for what I did for her before. I hope to be able when

I come to Town to give you money to pay for your estate, without breaking into your money in the Stocks. I wish it were in my power to do more, but whatever I can do will always be done with heart and goodwill, and may the blessing of Heaven always go with it and remain with you for ever, evermore! Amen &c.[1]

XIII

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

[TUNBRIDGE WELLS,]
Sunday 27th [June], 1813.

You are to come to Town on Monday to shine at the Lyceum, but pray delay writing to me till Tuesday and perhaps, on Tuesday morning you may receive another letter from me, and I will send you one from Chas. Crawford that will amuse you. I will get Lord Bristol to direct it to Aaron Graham, Esqr, Queen Street, so you can tell the servant there it will come franked "Bristol," and you may send your servant for it about Ten o'Clock on Tuesday, by which hour, or before eleven, I suppose the post will have delivered it. I shall receive your's on Wednesday and I hope it will be as comfortable to me as the sweet lines I had yesterday. In truth my dearest Harriot, it was no small happiness to me (as indeed all your letters and everything from you always is), but I was delighted that Fanny and Lord Bute had been at Holly grove and luckily I think, on the finest summer day we have had this year; for the next day we had cold east wind again, and this day is not much better. I stand much in need of comfort, and pass my time sadly enough,

[1] Both Mrs Sparks and Mrs Powell belonged to an older generation than Harriot Mellon. Mrs Sparks (1754–1837) is described as an "actress of old women." In 1802 she was playing "Mrs Malaprop" at Drury Lane, and received a salary of three pounds a week. According to Mrs Barron Wilson (*Memoirs*, etc., 1887, i. 246), Miss Mellon settled an annuity for life on Mrs Sparks, who was "a most respectable and valued old friend of hers."

Mrs Powell (d. 1831), the wife of a Liverpool prompter, was "generally cast for 'heavy parts.'" She played Mrs Woodville in *The Wheel of Fortune* at Drury Lane, October 1, 1795, when Miss Mellon made her first appearance in Kemble's musical romance, entitled *Lodoiska*.

not being able scarcely to see Lord Bristol; but Lady G. and the children are very happy with him. You will write me how the Lyceum went on and if you had a full house for the poor widow,[1] and were not very ill off behind the scene, and who occupied my Box, for such it is still called.

I think my poor companion becomes daily more weak in mind, and more and more unquiet, though in bodily health very well and the appetite rather better, not, I think, so well in regard to sleep.

We have an excellent house here and a pretty garden, and the country about beautiful; in that, as I believe I said in a former letter, we have every blessing, but the power of enjoyment of them. We say nothing of going home, but I think Lord Bristol must go soon, and I hope he will, for then we should not stop a day. His children with a French family who they know acted a French Play last night with great applause. They wanted the Norths to take part but could not prevail. They have not courage for it.

This moment the post has brought me your dear letter and also one from dearest Fanny telling me of the nice fruit and elegant breakfast or treat you gave her. She found it sixteen miles from Petersham to Highgate, and she is obliged at present to ride slow, not being able since her last attack to trot hard as she used to, which renders it more difficult to go any distance, but she hopes she will get better soon. She was much pleased that you should be so happily situated at Holly Lodge, and thinks it must be a great delight after the fatigue of acting, I do not think you have been much fatigued that way of late.

XIV

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

[TUNBRIDGE WELLS, *25th June*, 1813.]

I have sent two letters instead of one directed, to Mr Graham by this day's post, as the parliamentary privilege

[1] Mrs Siddons, after her retirement, played "Lady Randolph" at Drury Lane, June 12, 1813.

would not allow one cover to take all. I hope you will receive both unopened, and that Crawford's letters will amuse you. I hope to hear from you on Wednesday morning. The sight of your dear hand and to hear you are well and happy is the greatest comfort of my life. Probably I shall write you a few lines to-morrow.

What beautiful nights we have lately had and now so charmingly long! I hear constantly the sweet birds beginning their first morning carrols (*sic*) at three o'clock. You who can look to Heaven with so much pleasure and so pure a heart must have great pleasure in viewing such beautiful skies.

May all good Angels ever hover round and protect you!

[Franked "Bristol."]

XV

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

6th July, 1813.

"A thousand thanks for your ready compliance with my wish for the play and the opera. I shall be really vexed if it deprives Miss Mellon. I received the order last night I think from her. At least it struck me to be her seal, *La Verité*. I don't know her hand and it merely inclosed the Order—not a word written."

I wish my dearest Harriot, you had written two lines with it. The above I copied from Lady B[ute]'s letter. I think she was disappointed by there being not a word written. If you did not study to express yourself particularly and could divest yourself of all fear or apprehension when you write to any person under whatever circumstances or of whatever rank, you can never fail to be approved; let it only proceed (unchecked by diffidence) from your native good sense and elegance of feeling, as it arises at the moment, and you cannot go wrong, and you will never do right, or so well, in any other way, or by taking any pains.

To me you always express yourself charmingly. Bunbury who was a good judge said the same of what you wrote to him.

I have had a sad time of it, my dearest Harriot, and never stood more in need of your consoling kindness; but last night there seemed to be a cessation of hostilities against the poor unoffending maids, and this morning she is quiet. May Heaven grant it to continue. We intend to go home on Monday. To-day I am going to see a place of the Duke of Dorset's with Lord Bristol. The beauty of that pastoral country in that view of it is delightful. We went to Penshurst which is in a neglected state, but a wonderful park and the heronry worth seeing in the spring from its being so singular. These birds come every year to make their nests in the manner of the rooks, near the top of the highest trees all together, and they fly about in the same manner; but after they have brought out their young you see them no more till March brings them on the same errand.

They can hardly find such trees any where or in such numbers. Looking at them raises the mind to the wonder of the Creation on which Lord Bristol likes to expatiate. I am of fewer words, but I feel all the force of what he says, and I should like some April or May to come here with you my Angel (my good Angel) Harriot, for a week. The place belongs to Mr Sidney[1] the descendant of Sir Philip Sidney, who is rather poor. His father is living, near ninety years old, has forty thousand a year, but has no idea of sparing much of it, even to his son, or doing any thing to support the charming park and venerable old house where the pictures of Sir Philip and Algernon Sidney and others of his kindred might teach him better by only looking at them occasionally.

Pope sings—

> "See Faulkland dies, the generous and the just,[2]
> See godlike Sydney prostrate in the dust."

---

[1] John Shelley Sidney (created a Baronet in 1818) was the son of Sir Bysshe Shelley (the poet's grandfather) by his second wife, Miss Elizabeth Jane Sydney Percy, the heiress of Penshurst Castle. He was father of Philip, first Baron de Lisle and Dudley.

[2] Incorrectly quoted from the *Essay on Man*, ep. iv. 99.101:—

> "See Falkland dies, the virtuous and the just!
> See godlike Turenne prostrate on the dust!
> See Sidney bleeds amid the martial strife!"

I remember in Covent Garden Theatre old Sparks beginning a prologue to a new play,

> " When Great Eliza filled the British Throne
> She marked the matchless Sydney for her own."

They were great characters with small fortunes. How despicable in your generous mind must the forty thousand a year comparatively appear !

Elizabeth was a great Queen and possessed the excellent power of selecting and employing the intelligent, able and most worthy men of her time. A happy time and prosperous for these men abounded in every line, and a rising State made a rising Stage and,

> " When learning triumphed o'er her barbarous foes,
> First rear'd the Stage, immortal Shakespear rose."

May Heaven preserve you, Sweet, sweetheart, Ever, Evermore.

XVI

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

[*July 7th or 8th*, 1813.]

I cannot describe to my dearest Harriot the delight her letter gave me this morning. Your words seem to drop as from Heaven to quiet and compose my troubled brain. Lady Bute has talked with Mrs Early the woman Dr Ruddiman recommended and likes her very well. She presses me much to engage her and give up Mrs Coutts solely to her direction and both she and the Doctor join in hurrying me about it. They even want to send her here to me to-morrow ; and Lord Bute has written a horrible letter to Lady Guilford which I detest ; and I really think Lady Guilford's life and health is quite as much in danger from her sufferings in this sad business as mine, or at least as Lady Bute's, though Lord Bute treats her coarsely, as if she had not the same feelings as we have, which is very untrue. She happily cares little about what his Lordship says or does (and I am sure I care as little) but she refrains from telling him so, or giving him the answer he deserves, for fear of

hurting her sister. I shall tell you all about it when I see you and I really hope and think we shall keep our day and go to Town on Monday; but there is no being quite sure of a day in such a situation. I went yesterday to please Lord Bristol with him, Lady Guilford and Lady Susan to see Buckhurst Park. It is the most beautiful thing imaginable. I thought of you, you sweet, sweet heart, and thought I could pass my lifetime in it with you without a wish to go beyond it for a day.

I do not think I can bring my mind to give up Mrs Coutts to this woman unless it becomes more and more necessary and at any rate I must take time to think of it and to determine. This day is quite summer, more than any one we have seen. I hope you are enjoying it at Holly Lodge, and that I shall pass a sweet hour or two with you there soon; and, meanwhile, may Heaven and all good Angels watch over and keep you ever and evermore.

XVII

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

[*July*, 1813.]

Pray do not let Robins, or Hutchison or any thing hurry you to London in this charming weather, which with the sea-air may do you so much good. Very probably I may go at once to Petersham without stopping in London, as Lady G. and Dr Ruddiman think my being absent is favourable to their plan of getting Mrs Early into favour. I never thought I could be an unwelcome arrival at home—Oh Dear! it is very hard—I may stay two or three days with Lady Bute—She will be there, I think, to-day or to-morrow.

I do not think you will envy Mrs Jordan's twenty pounds a night. She is very active all things considered, and what she has been gives her success, for I am apt to think *I should feel disgusted.* I saw mentioned in the Papers a Mr Fawkner, an actor of expectation coming on one of the winter theatres—and that J. Kemble's coming is not true; but there is no believing what you hear of men so great as Kemble, Buonaparte, or Ld. Wellington!

XVIII

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

[ICKWORTH],
Sunday, [September 12th, 1813.]

I am most sadly grieved and disappointed this morning, receiving no letter from you my dearest Harriot! What can be the reason of it? You promised to write under cover to "The Earl of Bristol, Ickworth, Bury St Edmunds" on Friday, which, if you had written, could not fail to come; some cross-accident I suppose, but I never stood more in need of the comfort anything from you always brings me, for my accounts from home are sadly distressing and not very flattering from Lady Bute. She tells me it is Dr Ruddiman's opinion that removed from seeing me and all her family will be the means of her dear Mama being more easy and quiet; and they write from Stratton Street that she expresses no uneasiness at my absence, but she will not take breakfast from anybody but the Governess, who is still in great favour. Day and night I am miserable and the scenes at home are for ever before my eyes, though there is everything here that can make a place agreeable. The most unremitting kindness and affectionate attention from Lord B. without any fuss—a charming stile of easy elegant living—delightful park, ten miles round, full of deer, sheep and game and goats—every sort of the feathered race.

I carried the two dear Norths the morning after we arrived to see my old friend, Smith, at Bury.[1] He was

[1] William Smith (1730–1819) who was known as "Gentleman Smith" had been educated at Eton and Cambridge. He had been an actor on the London stage twenty-one years before his first appearance at Drury Lane, in 1774, under Garrick as manager. He is celebrated for his impersonation of "Charles Surface," which he played for the last time in 1788. In his old age when he was living with his wife at Bury, Coutts used to send him presents of wine, game and other dainties, which he repaid with many a letter of thanks seasoned with old-world anecdotes and jests. The old banker was only a few years younger than the old actor, and took a genuine pleasure in ministering to his comforts if not his necessities. *Vide post*, pp. 384-389.

perfectly out of his wits with joy to see us, and it was a great pleasure to me to see him so perfectly well as active and airy as ever and in fine spirits. He has a comfortable and pleasant house as any man could wish—and is respected and esteemed by all round him.

You will receive this on Tuesday, till then I can hear nothing from you. How vexatious it is to me to have no letter! I thought myself quite sure—my sweet Harriot my feelings towards you only prove to me more and more how necessary you are to your affectionate

T. C.

XIX

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

[Ickworth],
Tuesday, 14th [September, 1813].

I had the unlooked for pleasure of your dear letter this morning, but why do you write as if *you were not to see me?* You certainly will see me on Thursday, in Russell St. on my way to Petersham and on Monday I shall breakfast with you, if I am to return to Petersham the same day; but if I do not, probably it may be later in the day before I get to you. I have been in very sad state of depression of spirits and mind since I last wrote to you, so bad I was obliged to speak to Lord Bristol of it, and to beg he would let me go. He treated it very kindly, and was very tender to me, but insisted on keeping me. Really it is quite an effort for me to go into the breakfast and dining-room or to see or speak to anybody and all the ladies must wish me gone, as all would then go on merrily here. You would pity me I know. I have determined at times to have my bed in the Strand, or to get the woman there to get me a mutton chop or anything for my dinner, and so remain always there, for it is plain Mrs C. is better without me, which is a sad reflection and makes my heart sink to despair.

Pray pity and love me and do not fancy you are not to see me. I only wish I were more fit to be seen, for I am truly an object. If you should by chance see anybody

belonging to me you had better say nothing about me or seem to know my motions. The reason of this you shall know when I see you. I sent Covent Garden for to-morrow and I shall probably be able on seeing you on Thursday to give you any of the other days in the week at either House in case you want them. Lady Guilford has given Drury Lane to Crawford for this evening, Tuesday 14. I see they act alternate nights only and that the *The Lyceum* is shut.

XX

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

[Ickworth],
Sunday, [*September 15th*, 1813].

Sweet Heart,

The inclosed letters will show you the cause of my now being detained till Wednesday and not to be in London in my way to Petersham till Thursday.

You must forgive and pity me. My spirits are so low, and such a depression on my mind that I am fearful of falling into some unhappy state of weakness. I wish very much to go away. I waited to walk with Lord Bristol to Church to-day and sincerely desired it. I somehow felt it would be comfortable to me. The Ladies went in the coach. After waiting a long while I found Lord B. had gone before the coach, thinking I would come in it. I had waited so long that the service must have been half over before I got there, and I could not bear the thought of entering the Church alone in this way, all eyes upon me and wondering! so I staid at home in my room but very unhappy. Oh! could I but have brought you to me for even one hour; instead of which I set to work to write to you and I find even that is some relief. I have told Lord Bristol my weakness of mind and depression and inclosed Lady G's. note to him, saying he had better send me away to-morrow, and that I am really not fit to show myself in company and am unworthy of her uncommon kindness.

Pray do not think me crazed, I am not so yet and am well in health, full of kindest attachment to you dearest Harriot and to the other good women belonging to me. Pray pity and love me and show it by taking care of your dear self, and do not be uneasy about me. It will destroy me were you to do so. I have felt in some degree this depression before at different periods of my life which grieves me. Hope I may get over it now.

XXI

Thursday, 7th April, 1814.

DEAREST LOVE,

I give this the chance of coming to your hands before you set out to-morrow, to say how happy I am with the fine air, soft south-west wind, and the good that may be done by it at Luton and at Sidmouth ; and I know the appearance of my hand will make your journey more pleasant home. But if anything should incline you to stay till Saturday or Sunday, the hope of the country air doing you good will be ample recompense to me for the deprivation of the gratification, it must ever be to me, to see your sweet affectionate heart shining through the eyes and smiling on the dear lips. I am very well, going to the Middlesex Hospital to vote for Mr Bell, and I am now returned having voted and having had half an hour's conversation with the Duke of Devonshire and Lady Guilford respecting Mr Kean whom he admires exceedingly, but has never yet seen off the Stage.

The accounts to-day from Lord Wellington is his advancing on Thoulouse, and Soult, etc. declining to engage him.

"He is received," he writes, "everywhere with open arms."

I believe there is no account of Buonaparte.

My Blessing
and the peace of God be always with you.
T. C.

XXII

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

Wednesday, September 14th, 1814.

DEAREST LOVE,

I hope you are now near Brighton as it will soon strike six and I hope to hear that you are happy and well and have found all comfortable to your wish. Heaven watch over and bless you, for who deserves it so well?

I have been poring over musty papers all day, and am very tired, but the walk to Stratton Street will do me good and perhaps I may there receive news from Petersham.

From France no letters have come to-day, but Sir Charles Stuart is come from Paris and says there was a great feeling excited there by people hearing Lord Bute had been there but did not stop or see anybody. My Paper has a paragraph from Paris 7th September.

"The Celebrated English Tragic Actor Kemble has been here some days. He will not it is said remain longer than a month."

From Brussells 5 September:

"An English Theatre has been established under the most flattering auspices and every prospect of success—Mrs Jordan announced for the favourite character of Violante. John Kemble is expected and some say he actually arrived and will probably be induced to take a turn. Charles Kemble and his wife are also about to join the Company, so we shall have an English Theatre of standing merit."

The Kembles are determined to keep their names before the Public in London though their personal appearance seems to be excluded.

. . . . . .

Heaven preserve you! Ever, Ever, Ever,

T. C.

There is no definite close to the correspondence of 1814. An undated letter, possibly written early in December, speaks of a "consultation," doubtless between physician

and doctors, with regard to the state of Mrs Coutts, who was being removed from Wimbledon to Stratton Street; but there is no hint of any crisis, and nothing to show that she was in any immediate danger. The writer does not seem to have been aware how soon death would relieve him of the charge of his "poor companion," whose weakness of body and mind was causing him so much anxiety and distress.

Harriot Coutts

From a water-colour painting in the possession of the Lord Latymer

Emery & Walker Ph. sc.

CHAPTER XXVIII

TWICE MARRIED—ONCE WED

" There's nowt so queer as folk."
North Country Proverb,

EARLY in December 1814 Mrs Coutts accidentally overturned a quantity of boiling water over her shoulders, arms and chest, and " after lingering three weeks in such pain that those who most loved her prayed for her release, she died at four o'clock the morning of the fourth of January, 1815." Mrs Barron Wilson does not give her authority for these statements, but, to judge from the context, the story as she tells it was told in the first instance by the second Mrs Coutts, then Duchess of St Albans. It is a fact, which has been verified, that Mrs Coutts was buried in the chancel of the parish church of All Saints, Wroxton, near Banbury, on January 14, 1815 ; and as the funeral cortége, to cover a distance of seventy-five miles, must have rested three or four nights, the interval between death and burial could not have been less than ten days. Apart, however, from the entry in the register at Wroxton, there is no contemporary record of illness, death, or funeral. Again it is a fact that on January 18, 1815, four days after his first wife was buried, Thomas Coutts was (as he supposed) married to Harriot Mellon at old St Pancras Church (not his own parish church, but that of his intended bride, who was then resident at Holly Lodge in the Hamlet of Highgate) on January 18, 1815. Moreover, the day before, and here, too, we are on the bedrock of fact, two events of which we possess documentary evidence, took place. On January 17th,

Miss Mellon attended at the Archbishop's principal registry at Doctors' Commons and applied for and obtained an ordinary marriage licence, and, on the same day, she signed an agreement of the nature of a pre-contract of marriage.

These documents (A and B) must be given in full :—

A

"VICAR-GENERAL'S OFFICE,[1]
"*17th January*, 1815.

"Which day appeared personally Harriot Mellon and made Oath that she is of the Parish of Saint Pancras in the County of Middlesex aged twenty-one years and upwards Spinster and intendeth to intermarry with Thomas Coutts of the parish of St James Westminster in the same County Widower and that she knoweth of no lawful impediment by reason of any Precontract Consanguinity Affinity or any other Lawful Cause whatsoever to hinder the said intended marriage and prayed a License to solemnize the same in the parish Church of Saint Pancras aforesaid and further Made Oath that the usual place of abode of her the appearer hath been in the parish of Saint Pancras for the space of four weeks last past.

[Signed]
HARRIOT MELLON."

Sworn before me :
SAMᴸ. B. MEYRICK, *Surrte.*

B

(*Stamp*) Agreement 1804 B Sixteen Shillings

WHEREAS a Marriage is in Contemplation and intended to be speedily solemnized between Thomas Coutts of The Strand in The County of Middlesex Banker and Harriot Mellon Spinster formerly of Russell Street Covent Garden and now of Holly Lodge Highgate. This agreement is to declare The terms on which the same is consented to by The partys thereto. First the said Harriot Mellon being now

[1] Copies of this licence, and of the registers at Wroxton and St Pancras, were taken in 1909.

possess'd in her own right of certain real copyhold and Leasehold estates & personal property in The Countys of Essex & Middlesex and at Cheltenham in Gloucestershire, and of Stock in various Public Stocks or funds in her own name, Jewels Silver Plate and securities for money and money in the hands of her Bankers in London That she shall still continue to hold & enjoy the same and it is hereby agreed between The partys that all the property of the said Harriot Mellon aforesaid shall be always and entirely at her own sole disposal and command the same as if she was still unmarried—and that she may as often as she pleases to change the securities she may sell & dispose of the same & convey the same to purchasers and reinvest the money in any manner she pleases without any consent or concurrence being necessary or required from Her Husband—also if she shou'd at any time be inclin'd to transfer or make over all or any part of her property to Trustees to be accountable to her & herself only, with powers to the said Trustees to sell and dispose of the same, in such manner as she may direct she shall be at Liberty to do so—And the said Thomas Coutts hereby promises & engages and binds himself after marriage at all times when needful or required by the said Harriot Mellon to give his concurrence to The transfer of her aforesaid various property to her Trustees by any needful act on his part.

Finally The said Thomas Coutts binds & obliges himself & agrees to provide to the use of the said Harriot Mellon in case she shou'd survive him one perfect and clear annuity of One Thousand pounds free from all Taxes or deductions establish'd or that hereafter may be impos'd and the said Harriot Mellon hereby accepts the said annuity in Bar of Dower or claim on the Estate of the said Thomas Coutts And the said Thomas Coutts hereby undertakes in case any Deed on his part can be devised more effectual for securing the purpose than the present agreement to execute the same at any time when desired or required so to do—also he agrees that the payment of the said annuity shall be by quarterly payments the first to be due on the day of his death & to continue for all the days of the Life of the said Harriot Mellon.

In Witness whereof the partys have hereunto set Their hands & seals this seventeenth day of January in the year of our Lord one Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifteenth.

Sign'd Seal'd & delivered being first duely stamp'd In presence of } THOMAS COUTTS (Seal) HARRIOT MELLON (Seal)

J. G. RAYMOND.
W. B. CHAMPNEYS.

" Sworn before me :
" SAMUEL B. MEYRICK, *Surrogate.*"

And now for a third document as it stands to the present day in the register of St Pancras Church, the entry of a marriage, of a clandestine and, as it turned out, an illegal or invalid marriage between the aforesaid Thomas Coutts and Harriot Mellon.

631. Thomas Coutts of the Parish
of St James' Westminster Widower
and Harriot Mellon of this Parish
Spinster
were married in this Church by License with Consent of
[blank] the eighteenth day of
January, in the year One thousand eight hundred and fifteen
By me W. B. Champneys.

The marriage was solemnised between us { THOMAS COUTTS HARRIOT MELLON

In the Presence of { JAMES GRANT RAYMOND WM. B. HOUGHTON.

Note that alongside of the entry are inscribed the words : " This Marriage was illegally solemnised." Vide No. 697, P. 233.

Beneath the entry, which stands at the top of the page, are two other entries, No. 632 and No. 633,[1] both signed by the curate, W. B. Champneys, and both witnessed by G. Hamp and S. Hamp. Alongside of the first entry No. 632, are inscribed the words: "This and the following entry are entirely fictitious. J. MOORE, Vicar."

Now the fact that a marriage ceremony took place on January 18, 1815, is incontestable, but the questions why it was contrived with such indecent haste, why it was carried out under every precaution of secrecy, and how or why it was illegally solemnised, do not admit of an easy or altogether satisfactory solution.

Now why were "this man and this woman" in such a desperate hurry to get married? It is said that many years before a formal agreement had been drawn up binding them to intermarry when death made it possible; but even so, there was every reason for the observation of decency and propriety. Who was the instigator of this marriage in haste, the aged widower or the ambitious bride? My own belief is that it was solely and entirely the act and deed of Thomas Coutts himself, and that he was influenced by one motive and one motive only, to secure his prize before it was too late. As he lay on his sick-bed, shattered in mind and body by the last illness and death of his wife, the one thing needful was to make Harriot Mellon his wife before his death, or any other disability, should intervene. He had resolved, and the cup should not be snatched from his lips. Mrs Barron Wilson, who was briefed for the Duchess of St Albans, tells a long story about the obstinate reluctance of Miss Mellon to consent to an immediate marriage, and explains that Coutts had offered a bribe of a thousand pounds to J. G. Raymond, the Stage Manager of Drury Lane Theatre, to

[1] These bogus marriages must have been inserted by the Curate to divert attention from the entry of the doubtfully legal ceremony of January 18.

act the part of intermediary and overcome her scruples. Some such story, no doubt, was told by the Duchess herself, and it is by no means improbable as a whole. It is a hard matter for a woman to defy the conventions in respect of marriage; harder still to ignore and to disregard the rights and privileges of the dead. Moreover, she must have known that it was a bad beginning if she was ever to be acknowledged by her husband's family or received in society. She would have waited if she could, and like the "Dark Ladie" in the "eye of noon" have been "led from her mother's door." But, at length, persuaded she was, and as the bridegroom was ill in bed, the blushing bride was forced herself to face the clerks at Doctors' Commons and to take out a marriage licence for both parties.

It was not, by the way, a special licence which was procured from the Archbishop's principal office, for that would have necessitated an application to the Archbishop himself; and though Dr Manners Sutton might have asked, "Who is Harriot Mellon?" he would certainly have been acquainted with some members of the old banker's family.

But why was it necessary to marry by stealth? Legal impediment there was none, and secrecy in itself is of the nature of a slur. The exact date of the marriage was, no doubt, intended to remain a secret, in the vain hope that when the fact was disclosed no questions would be asked as to time and place; but apart from the verdict of society, which was of secondary importance, there was the opposition of his married daughters, and of Sir Francis Burdett, which it was easier and pleasanter to elude than to meet or to overcome. Nothing could turn him from his purpose; but he loved his daughters, shrank from their tears, and dreaded the expostulations and warnings which he had resolved to resist and to disregard. It has been suggested that he apprehended the issue of a commission of lunacy, and the rumour of such a threat may have reached his ears; but he was well aware that it was nothing but a threat, and

that it was moral not physical restraint which it behoved him to evade.

His money-bags were not entailed, and he knew full well that once this dreaded second marriage was an *affaire accomplie*, both daughters and son-in-law would come round and make the best of a bad business. Moreover, he was not, as was reported and is still believed, eighty-six or eighty-seven, but *only* seventy-nine and a few months; and as to his sanity, his partners could have borne witness that his shrewdness and business capacities were as sound as they had been for more than half a century. He may have shown a lack of moral courage in keeping his second marriage, even as he is said to have kept his first, a secret, but he was no more in his dotage in 1815 when he married Harriot Mellon, than he was in 1769, when he married Susannah Starkie.

But how or why, as Dr Moore, the Vicar of St Pancras, wrote on the margin of the register, was the marriage illegally solemnised? To all appearances the Marriage Act was complied with in every particular, but, as the sequel proved, the marriage was illegal, if not invalid. No time had been lost, no pains had been spared to ensure secrecy, but "someone had blundered," and the knot was still untied. The author of *The Jolly Duchess*, Mr C. E. Pearce (following an article which was said to have appeared in *The Observer*,[1] April 23, 1815) takes for granted that the name of the second witness, Wm. B. Houghton, was either forged at the time of the marriage or was inserted afterwards, and that the illegality turned on the absence of the second witness. It is highly probable that his theory is the right one, but the entry in the register as it stands is wholly inconclusive. There is nothing to show that the name of

[1] The article is quoted in *Fine Acting*, a pamphlet which was issued in 1815. With the exception of a few odd numbers for 1815, the volumes of the *Observer* for 1813-1817 are wanting in the collection preserved at the British Museum.

the second witness, "Wm. B. Houghton," certainly a genuine signature, was added afterwards. It is true, as Mr Pearce observes, that the ink is of a different colour from that used for the other signatures, but that is also the case whenever "Wm. B. Houghton" signs his name as a witness to other marriages in the register. He may have used different ink, or written with a different pen. It is also possible that the marriage ceremony was performed before or after the canonical hours, and that the doors of the church were kept locked. Either of these irregularities would make the marriage illegal. It stands to reason that when the Vicar's attention had been called to the fact that without his knowledge or consent a marriage ceremony, at once so important and so questionable, had been performed in his church, he would make every inquiry and exact a rigid compliance with the formalities enjoined by the Marriage Act. He was in a measure responsible for the dishonourable and illegal behaviour of the Curate, and it is quite possible that he had been reproached by some member of the family, and had been urged to put a black mark over against the entry in the register.

But on Wednesday, January 18th,[1] and probably until the end of March, the conspirators believed that they had stolen a march on the enemy, and that though they continued to live apart, they were man and wife. A few letters, now published for the first time, throw some light on the situation. They appear to have been written in February, and though one of them is addressed to Miss Mellon, it must have been only as a matter of precaution, for the writer speaks of "our being made one for ever in the sight of Heaven." They confirm the tradition or

[1] To the day of his death Coutts regarded and kept the 18th of January as the anniversary of his second marriage. See, for instance, *Letters of Joseph Jekyll*, 1894, p. 91: "Under January 7th, 1820, an invitation from old Coutts to celebrate the seventh anniversary of his marriage, to meet the Dukes of York, Clarence, and Sussex, the first and last well assorted."

legend that at or about this time Coutts was seriously, though not dangerously ill, and confined to his bedroom by a smart attack of erysipelas in the leg.[1] If there is any truth in the story that he was in his box at Drury Lane when Miss Mellon (or Mrs Coutts) appeared for the last time on the stage as Audrey in *As you Like It* on February the 7th, the letters in which he complains of his enforced seclusion must have been written between that date and the end of the month; but it is improbable that he was in any condition to run the risk of going out at night. He seems during his confinement to have devised a scheme for appeasing, and, it may be, preparing his daughters before the bomb was dropped and he announced or confessed his second marriage. "Papers" containing some assurance of future support, and imploring their goodwill and kindness towards Miss Mellon were to be placed in the hands of Lady Guilford and Lady Burdett, and when these had been digested they were to be told the worst, and he would calmly await the issue. A letter containing the same announcement was to be posted to Lady Bute, who had lived in Italy since her husband's death. Lady Guilford's reply to her father's "papers" is dated February 24th, and though, apparently, at the time she knew nothing for certain, she was distressed and perturbed. Lady Burdett, after consulting with her sisters, must have written a day or two later. Before the end of February the daughters had been told, or had discovered for themselves, that their father had married again. Concealment was no

[1] The following note or memorandum in the handwriting (very shaky) of Thomas Coutts, belongs to this date:

"To Miss MELLON, Henrietta St., Covent Gardens.

"Harriot Coutts, wife of Thomas Coutts, private wife of Thomas Coutts, Esq. Private.

"The best and kindest and most affectionate wife in England, and if in England, in the world.

"20 Feb. 1815.

"Erisipelus" (*sic*).

longer possible, and on Friday, March 2nd, *The Times* announced the marriage in a belated and somewhat dubious manner:

"On Wednesday at St Pancras Church, Middlesex, Thomas Coutts, Esq. to Miss Harriot Mellon, of Holly Lodge, Highgate."

Now March the 2nd, 1815, was a Thursday, and the casual reader would naturally suppose that the marriage had taken place on the day before, Wednesday, March the 1st, and that two or perhaps three months had elapsed since the death of the first Mrs Coutts.[1] At any rate for the moment the device succeeded, and following on the announcement in *The Times*, congratulatory and complimentary paragraphs appeared in *The Morning Post* and the *St James's Chronicle*. So far so good; but if the papers were on the whole complaisant, the Vicar of St Pancras, *proprio motu*, or in consequence of pressure from the family, turned up the page in the Register, and, so far as he could, revoked and repudiated the informal and erroneous certificate. The cancellation is not dated, but inasmuch as the curate, the Rev. W. B. Champneys, who officiated on January 18th, retained his post till March 31st, my impression is that it was not till the end of the month that Coutts realised the necessity of a second marriage ceremony.

Once again, secretly or openly, on April 12, 1815, a marriage by licence was solemnised between Thomas Coutts and Harriot Mellon, by a new curate, the Rev. W. Fallofield, in the presence of James Grant Raymond, and the sexton, George Hamp. This time there was no irregularity, and neither vicar nor son-in-law, nor "all that is at enmity with joy," could put husband and wife asunder. It is to be noted that whereas on January 18th the signature of "Thomas Coutts" was that of an infirm old man, and Harriot might be *Harret* Mellon, on April 12th the handwriting of both parties leaves nothing to be desired. It is an open question

[1] Lord Derby married Miss Farren six weeks after the death of his first wife.

whether the old licence, which had not yet expired, did duty over again, or whether, as Mr Pearce suggests, another licence may have been procured from the Bishop of London's registry or the Faculty Office.

In looking back over the criss-cross pattern of fact and fiction, the moves in the game are obscure enough, but one of the pieces which played an important though subordinate part, as knight or pawn, merits attention. James Grant Raymond, Stage Manager of Drury Lane Theatre, witnessed both the illegal and the legal marriage at St Pancras, and is said to have " given the lady away." Mrs Barron Wilson tells us that at the close of the first ceremony Mr Coutts presented Raymond with a snuff-box containing a cheque for a thousand pounds as a bribe or *douceur*, and it is evident that he was agent for one or both parties in that mysterious transaction. He was a third-rate actor, and but a poor declaimer, according to Byron, who implores Lord Holland not to let Raymond deliver his *Address*, on the re-opening of the Theatre (October 12, 1812), " by the love of Rhythmus." On the other hand, Coleridge, in the Preface to *Remorse* (1813), testifies in his favour as stage-manager, " Had the *Remorse* been his own play—nay, that is saying too little—had I been his brother, or his dearest friend, he could not have felt or exerted himself more zealously."

He does not seem to have left his mark on the history of the stage, but the *Monthly Mirror* for 1806 (vol. xxii. pp. 296, 370) contains a highly eulogistic notice of his life and character. The son of an officer in the Army named Grant (Raymond was a *nom de guerre*) he was born at Strathspey in Scotland, March 29, 1771. After entering and leaving the Royal Navy more than once, he commenced actor at the Dublin Theatre under Daly. He appeared for the first time at Drury Lane, as Oswald in the *Castle Spectre*, in 1795. His principal characters were the Stranger, Penruddock, Macduff, the Ghost in *Hamlet*, and Macbeth. In 1806 he brought out a *Life of Thomas Dermody*, Irish poet, genius

and wastrel. It is worth reading, and shows that the author was a man of some cultivation. Unlike the typical Bohemian whom he protected and befriended, scolded and helped to the last, according to the *Monthly Mirror*, he "adhered strictly to the rules of prudence and economy, and with the help of an amiable wife was enabled to support a large family with decent pride."

He was an old friend of Harriot Mellon, and on November 11, 1808 (her birthday), presented her with a handsomely-bound Prayer Book with a pompous inscription, in which he described himself as neither "Jew, infidel, pagan, Christian, devil, or saint." That is not a certificate of good character, but neither the delicate, scholarly handwriting or the spirit of the inscription accord with the character of "Bully Raymond" as depicted by the scandalmongering pamphleteers. It is said that when he died (October 23, 1817), Mrs Coutts, as she then was, ordered and paid for a sumptuous funeral, and that she watched the procession from the windows of No. 1 Stratton Street.

Correspondence

February, 1815.

I

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

February Eleven.

I am really better and the sweet thoughts of your sleeping well and waking (as I hope it will please Heaven you shall) happy in the morning, cannot fail to compose me and delight my heart.

How dearly affectionate and good is every word of your Letter! I must sleep well, kissing it as I lay down and putting it close to my heart.

Thanks for the ginger and the thermometer; but it is in vain for me to name particular things when every thought, every action is true love and every possible kindness.

Good night, sweet Harriot, Lovely Coutts, Kind charming Wife, Friend, everything to me!

Heaven watch over you.

II

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

[*February*, 1815.]
Near one o'Clock.

I have not for years had such a night of sleep as the last and I thought my pain was gone, but on getting up found myself mistaken.

Hooper has been here and says it is so fine I may go out . . . [medical details]. He comes again to-night. He is a very pleasant man. Lady G. likes him exceedingly. I have given her my paper which you have seen (that lay with my will), but I rather think she has not yet read it. If I hear nothing from her by next Monday I will ask it from her again and send it to Lady Bute and acquaint Lady G. with "The Happy Wednesday at St Pancras," and a week after my paper goes I will acquaint Lady Bute of the same. Lady G. will probably tell Lady Burdett and I think I fully desire her to do so.

I have just got your dearest letter. The sight of it comforted me, but the contents frightens me, sadly. I cannot come to you and if I do not I shall lose you. What sort of thing afterwards would my life be even though I was blessed with health? I cannot conceive a harder case and happiness so near being realised—at the same time on the brink of being lost for ever. What a pity you cannot be more composed and bear things with more patience.

III

Lady Guilford to Thomas Coutts.

Feb. 24th, 1815.

My Dear Papa,

I have no words to express my feelings for you. *It is quite impossible.* Oh that I could but write on this

paper all that is passing in my heart and all I felt as I read your letter, *every* syllable of which *I shall never, never forget.*

After all you have written what can I say to you respecting Miss Mellon? I should not speak the truth were I to say I considered that day as happy when you first met her at Cheltenham, or that if I could recall that day that I would *not.* But no doubt all that IS permitted is to be considered *as desirable* spite of all appearances and wishes—still there is a something attached to this connexion which strikes at my heart. *I cannot, cannot help it,* and you must forgive me!—but I will certainly fulfill to the utmost your request as long as the Almighty in his infinite goodness is pleased to grant me life and capacity and with happiness too will I fulfill it in the full confidence that my dear Mama who is looking upon me must approve—as *I do* because *it is YOUR wish,* and from this moment forward to the end of my existence I am perfectly willing to do whatever you may express. God Almighty bless, preserve and guard you, for of such *I am sure* is the Kingdom of Heaven.

IV

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

[*Saturday, February* (25*th*)] 1815.

My Dearest Harriot,

The Doctor says I am getting on famously well—and will soon be quite so. The swelling in the ankle near the foot under the ankle bone which he yesterday said would increase has put him in the wrong; for it has diminished and no pain now left unless you press on the place. My own opinion is it will be gone to-morrow. I confess myself much disappointed for I thought myself sure of being with you on Sunday; but the doctor forbids and says, "To be soon well (or quite so) I must stay at home and rest my foot."

I wish you to get me a couple of flannel night caps—to-day.

Your sweet letters comfort me most delightfully. I have got the papers from Lady Guilford and sent them to Lady Burdett and on Tuesday I shall send them to Lady Bute. And in the course of the week, perhaps before I see you I shall communicate our happy marriage to both ladies here—on Tuesday sennight I shall inform Lady Bute—I wish to be sure she has got the letters to be sent on Tuesday next previous to her getting the intelligence. We shall then see how they receive it, or what they intend to do in consequence. Whatever it may be cannot make me unhappy. My mind is settled and rests on you my comfort my blessing—but I shall be much pleased to see them quiet and comfortable and I trust in Heaven and think surely the time will come when all will be pleased and content and see clearly the blessing you are to me and how happy you can make them all.

I do not remember when the great box went off, perhaps you can learn, but somehow I hardly think it could be expected to have arrived at Paris on the 22nd.

The goodness of Heaven and its Angels ever rest on your sweet head with my love, kindest affection and blessings.

I am not sure whether or not I sent the Opera. Dr Hooper says it is a cold, bad day to-day, I hope you will get no harm. I would wish you if it is fine to go to Highgate on Sunday. It will be time enough on Monday or Tuesday morning to enquire about the Paris box. Meanwhile we may hear it has arrived.

V

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

[*February* 25 (?) 1815.]

I write this at six having since twelve had a very comfortable night of good sleep and without pain this morning. Yet this vile erisipelus (*sic*) requires much care. It comes in the hollow behind the ankle bone, left leg, with some pain and the doctor said it was a more seriously Erisipelus than the rest, but the pain is gone

and I hope all will be gone soon. He will take the merit of his lotion but it was your kindness and your sweet letter that has done the good, and above all hoping that your mind has got easy. Oh, Heaven grant it to continue composed!

I have got my letter back from Lady Guilford, send it this morning to Lady Burdett and by the post on Tuesday to Lady Bute next—very soon, will follow the information of our being for ever made one in the sight of Heaven. Heaven bless us and preserve us in happiness.

I have no doubt that some day they will all acknowledge your goodness and value, and appreciate it in the manner I shall ever do. Oh my Dearest Angel be comforted, be happy and think of your OWN Tom!

I shall write after I see the doctor by the man who comes from the Strand with my Letters. It will be about twelve or between it and one. I really seem quite well and happy. I think I shall go to sleep for two hours now.

To Miss Mellon.

VI

Lady Burdett to Thomas Coutts.

[*February*, 24 *or* 25, 1815.]

My *ever* beloved Papa, and now doubly valued Parent being the only surviving one left to bless, direct and comfort me! *Never* can I be *sufficiently* grateful to the Almighty God, who has permitted and granted me the *heart*felt delight of shewing you *during your most precious and invaluable life*, how religiously I should abide by *all* your dear, dear wishes should it be my destiny to survive you! The instance in which I am so favour'd by heaven as to be able to satisfy you of my *entire* submission to your requests is in that which relates to Miss Mellon, and that kindness you ask of me to bestow upon her (supposing me to *outlive* your *own* dear *self*) I am henceforward, my beloved, my most *truly good*, my kindest of Fathers ready, nay anxious to shew her *now*, if you will point out the manner in which you would wish me to act! Be

assured that I have never consider'd you my beloved Papa but as one *on who's like we shall never* NEVER look again! and I think that what you so *greatly love must* partake of your own goodness! Your dear papers I shall return as you desired. The letter to my ever—ever beloved departed I have not yet had the heart to open.

God Almighty in His goodness preserve you long long to your ever most affectionate

SOPHIA.

VII

Thomas Coutts to Miss Mellon.

February, 1815.

Never was so fine a day in England in February. I wish I had this morning requested you to drive to Highgate—you might do it still. As to staying all night I suppose it is in vain to propose it. Oh alas, what trouble is that valuable that sweet sensibility of your heart accompany'd with! I wrote the letter this morning before seven but nobody was out of bed to take it. I laid it ready to despatch when anybody stirred but my new power of sleeping set me quiet and I did not awake till almost nine. I then sent it off but I might have let you know why it did not come.

CHAPTER XXIX

A FAMILY QUARREL

" To be wroth with one we love
Doth work like madness in the brain."
Christabel, Part II.

FOR several months after the premature announcement of March the 2nd, the newly-married pair divided their time between Holly Lodge and a " small house in (No. 17) Southampton Street,[1] Covent Garden," which, as he told Lady Bute in a letter dated December 22, 1815, Coutts had taken as a makeshift subsequent to his marriage. Since, and, indeed, for long before her husband's death in 1802, Lady Guilford had lived at No. 1 Stratton Street, had presided over her father's household, and devoted herself to the care of her aged and afflicted mother. She had a house of her own on Putney Hill (North House), but Stratton Street served as a home and town house for herself, her step-daughter, Lady Maria North, who was grown up, and for her own children, Lady Susan and Lady Georgiana, who were still in their teens. Sir Francis Burdett and his wife and children lived in the next house facing Piccadilly. If Thomas Coutts introduced his new wife to this family circle the experiment failed, and, for a while, Lady Guilford was left in what may have seemed to be permanent possession of No. 1 Stratton Street. The evacuation of that stronghold by Lady Guilford and re-occupation by Mr and Mrs Coutts,

[1] In Boyle's *Court Guide* for 1816, Thomas Coutts is returned as occupying No. 17 Southampton Street, Covent Garden, instead of, as in 1815 and 1817, No. 77 Piccadilly, otherwise No. 1 Stratton Street.

THE LADIES MARIA AND SUSAN NORTH
From a painting in oil in the possession of the Lord North

whenever it took place, marks a stage in the quarrel between the daughters and the father as the champion of his second wife. As late as 1816 Sir Francis Burdett, who had given dire offence to his father-in-law, had not vacated the Piccadilly house, but was under notice to go—"quit it he must," and as soon as possible. Almost all the letters of this period and for the next two years which have been preserved, recount a tale of grievances and indicate a policy of reprisals. The daughters had suffered what they felt to be an intolerable wrong at their father's hand, and though duty and affection, as much as fear for their future inheritance, impelled them to make peace with their stepmother, they could not ensure it. Early in June, according to the *Morning Herald*, the Countess of Guilford and the Miss Norths had paid their first wedding visit "to Mrs Coutts at her rural village (*sic*) of Holly Lodge"—and before that they must have been mortified to read (*Times*, *Morning Post* and *Morning Chronicle*, May 17, 1815):—"Yesterday the Prince Regent dined with Mr Coutts at his Highgate Cottage, where there was a *select* party of distinguished characters to meet His Royal Highness.[1] Royal Dukes notwithstanding, they could not regard Harriot Mellon as their equal, or conceal their chagrin that she was indeed their father's wife. And she, on her part, was hasty and quick-tempered, ready to take offence on the faintest shadow of provocation. Her progress from comedy actress at Drury Lane Theatre to millionairess and duchess was strewn with broken friendships, withdrawals of favour, and revocations of patronage. It was the ungoverned temper of a woman who lacked breeding, and was blessed, or cursed, with a measure of the artistic temperament. Lady Guilford and Lady Burdett were women of rank,

[1] In a letter to Lord Buchan, dated May 3, 1815, Mr Coutts writes: "I have been honoured with the Princess's [Mary] notice . . . as well as of several others of the royal family, male and female," etc. Lord Buchan endorses the letter with a testimony to "the excellent conduct and character, in difficult circumstances," of his correspondent.

who had taken their place in the great world, but, to judge from their letters, they were not over-wise. Emotional and sentimental, they felt and behaved like the heroines of an eighteenth-century novel, and, no doubt, when their feelings overcame them, by look or gesture, they frustrated their own half-hearted attempts at a reconciliation. In themselves, and apart from these pitiful and weariful recriminations, it may be said that there were virtues as well as faults on both sides. Certainly, in spite of the profuseness of his testimony to his wife's excellence, the impression that the letters which Coutts wrote to his wife, or in her behalf to his daughters, leave on the mind is that she was a good woman, and that from first to last he had read her character aright. Lady Bute, who tried to make peace between her father and her sisters, though she admits that if she had been in Lady Guilford's place "she might (in the first moment)" have acted as she did, was careful to add, "I know the claim which Mrs Coutts justly has upon you, and that she is entitled to your first consideration. I trust I view the situation justly and feelingly, and that I shall not cease to appreciate all she does to make your happiness." If the sisters on the spot could have taken this line, all might have been well; but they were badly advised by Sir Francis Burdett and by the young Marquis of Bute, who was engaged to and afterwards married Lady Maria North (*vide ante*, pp. 180, 192). There is nothing to show in what month the first stage of the quarrel was brought to a close by the refusal of Lady Guilford to live in her father's house, if his wife was to hold sway not only as its lawful head and mistress, but as owner of the property as well.[1] She maintained and, apparently, persuaded Lady Bute, that her father turned her out of the house. This he strenuously

[1] In Boyle's *Court Guide*, 1812-1820, No. 77 Piccadilly is said to be occupied by the Dowager Countess of Guilford, but the letters imply that she ceased to live there after 1816-17. She afterwards lived at No. 78 Piccadilly.

denies, but, on his own admission, he had practically made it impossible for her to remain—not of right as his daughter, but as a guest at the goodwill of his wife. It would, no doubt, have been better if no such question had arisen, and that the change had taken place as a matter of course on the announcement of a second marriage; but in family quarrels whatever is—is wrong!

With the installation of Harriot Coutts in the great house at Stratton Street, the first Act in this Comedy of Errors comes to a close. But the quarrel is spread over a period of three or four years, and there were other episodes of a poignant nature which provoked, or seemed to justify an ultimatum that "all intercourse must be at an end." In an undated letter (1816 or 1817) Coutts accuses Lady Guilford of "imputing to the servants" (of Holly Lodge or Stratton Street) that their mistress was poisoning her father in bed, and that but half-dressed herself, she had brought two men with her to the bedroom. Coutts explains that the two men were trusted friends of his own whom he had sent on a mission, doubtless of a financial character, to the Duke of York, and that he had "ordered unknown to Mrs Coutts" that the reply should be brought to him to his bedside. Where were the caricaturists? The servants, no doubt, had put their own interpretation of some angry words of a lady, their former mistress, whose interference was not to their liking. Then—and possibly this was the climax—in July 1817 Coutts was led to believe that his daughter, Lady Guilford, had offered to present her step-mother at Court, well knowing that old Queen Charlotte would refuse to receive a lady whose "past" had been adversely criticized. Here, again, it is obvious that the tale-bearer made the worst of the story to soothe the wounded feelings of the Banker to the Royal Family. At the close of 1817 Coutts seems to have announced his intention of banishing Lady Guilford from his presence. Lady Bute (February and March 1818) interceded on behalf

of her sister, pouring out floods of impassioned supplication and expostulation, admitting some cause of offence, but pleading for forgiveness and a withdrawal of the decree of exile. For a while the old man was inexorable, but either his resolution failed or the daughter gave pledge of repentance and amendment. At any rate, in 1820, there was a happy gathering at Salt Hill, and once again the daughters sat at their father's table, and he was made happy by their amity and devotion to him, and, at least, a show of reconciliation to his wife.

Correspondence

March 24, 1815—*January* 5, 1818.

I

T. Entwisle to Mrs Coutts

Cheltenham,
Good Friday, 1815.

My Dear Mrs Coutts,

Your mother[1] was much better yesterday. . . . I wish I could say she was so well to-day—she appears heart-broke that she shall never see you again—pray write to her. Dr Jenner has just been to her and speaks very favorable of her, but my fears and doubts are not removed. Pray heaven bless you! she has been two days disappointed in your not writing.

Sir Richard Clayton from Wigan, a person I have not seen for thirty years, called on me to-day to pay his respects. I am, My dear Mrs Coutts,

Yours most affectionately,
T. Entwisle.

I did get her to eat about half an ounce of boiled mutton to-day and take a glass of wine.

[1] Mrs Entwisle died May 6, 1815. Her daughter "made arrangements for her funeral on a sumptuous scale." In 1832 when she was Duchess of St Albans, she caused a white marble tablet to be placed at the head of the grave. Entwisle survived his wife by four years. See *Memoirs*, etc., 1887, ii. pp. 96, 97.

II

Lady Guilford to Mrs Coutts

Lady Guilford presents her kind wishes to Mrs Coutts. It is Lady Guilford's earnest desire that the late unfortunate circumstances which have caused so much unhappiness to herself, her father and Mrs Coutts may be entirely forgotten. She is convinced they originated in various mistaken ideas and appearances, which if they had been coolly investigated would have been found without doubt void of foundation. She hopes Mrs Coutts views it in the same light. Should that happily be the case, she trusts again to see her and requests Mrs Coutts will mention some hour and place for that purpose.

Stratton Street,
Aug. 7th, 1815.

III

Lady Bute to Thomas Coutts.

BATH,
September 19th, 1815.

I am most happy you approve of my having refused to lend money to Le Baron Roehenstart: he is a gentlemanlike man, very like Madame D'Alberstroff. It seems his mother, the Duchesse D'Albany, married Mons. Roehenstart.[1]

Pray always remember your Fanny very kindly to your dear wife, and also believe that I shall never cease to feel most kindly for her who makes the evening of your life comfortable.

IV

Thomas Coutts to Lady Bute.

[Draft of Letter.]

Friday, 22nd December, 1815.

On Tuesday I wrote to you (the 19th) and left the Strand at between four and five. No mail was arrived

[1] For General Charles Edward Stuart, Count Roehenstart, *vide ante*, p. 52. It is evident that Lady Bute, who had been intimate with the Comtesse d'Alberstroff, believed that Roehenstart *was* her grandson.

and I despaired of it for that day; however it came after I had gone out of town.

There were two letters to Susan which were sent by a servant accidentally going to Putney, but one to me lay here 'till I came to town this morning. Indeed, my dearest Love, I most heartily wish it had never come to my hands; for the misery the perusal gave me is beyond my power to express. One great comfort, and no other could half so well have relieved my heart, is that you proceeded in writing what you did upon a false conception of the subject and a complete error. I represented my wife to you as most honestly and truly she is, a disinterested friend, destitute of all worldly views on my fortune, and whose sole view in marrying me was to comfort and make the evening of my life happy, and in doing so she is herself most truly happy. I have been every day since our marriage more and more convinced of the truth of this; and I am very sure to do me a real service she would give up every farthing belonging to her. Indeed she wished to have given all up to me on our marriage, such was and is her confidence in me; but I insisted on her keeping all that was her own and putting [it] in the hands of trustees to hold for her separate use and disposal. You may depend she is a person quite regardless of pomp or ostentation and I am perfectly certain she would prefer living in a small but clean and neat house much rather than in any house in Grosvenor Square, or, such as are inhabited by the people of the first fortune and rank in England; and if she has ever had any desire to live in the Stratton Street house it was entirely on my account, and feeling an idea by my not being there that I might be looked on as degraded in society, and particularly hurt if my degradation was or seemed to be owing to her. But I have often told her, and if I am not right in the opinion that she never did and never will do any act to disgrace or degrade me, I must consider myself as being destitute of common understanding and feeling, and unfit or incapable of acting or conducting myself through life; and it is much more probable and certain that I shall continue proud of her as I do now. Georgiana North was born in Stratton Street,

but Susan was born at Waldershare as you must recollect; we lived all some years in the house, but as for myself I never was attached to the residence; on the contrary I have almost always wished to get rid of it.

My wish and my dear Harriot's was to have lived in the house with Susan; but you must be sensible that to live together must be hell upon earth if people are not cordial and easy with each other and Susan was the reverse of this, and in truth instead of my turning her out of the house she really turned me out of it. Though in such a state how could either Harriot or I wish to have continued in it? We have been completely happy together in the small house we have been forced to be put up into in Southampton Street, Covent Garden, and through life I am confident in spite of every adverse circumstance that may occur we shall always be so; but, my dearest Fanny, to charge me with turning Susan out of Stratton Street is so injurious, so contrary to the truth, so contrary to all my feelings and every wish of my heart that I really cannot hardly live under such an aspersion from so dear a hand as yours, who in all this matter has been my best comfort, for I hoped you had seen me as I am and felt for me as I feel for myself. The houses in Stratton Street and Piccadilly are now belonging to the best of women who preserves my life, my health and my comfort, and who, I am sure, so far from turning Susan out will be most happy always to receive her and her children in it, and that she would make S. Street her residence in London, and would be truly happy also, if she in like manner and her children would come to Holly Lodge as if it were their own, Nothing will make her so happy, but it is obvious that she will be more at her ease by the house being her own property. I have lent an enormous sum to the Duke of York and indeed nearly the same to several old friends of my house in the Strand. I bought and paid for two country houses for Susan and spend a good deal by having so many establishments, so that I really wanted the money which she affectionately has been always begging me to take hers which I felt to be injustice; I have also all my life felt it to be cruelly unjust to die and leave a beloved

wife a widow in a state to be unable to live as well as when I was living. I therefore shall certainly provide her amply to my mind, and I sold her these houses in the meanwhile for thirty thousand pounds and she sold out of the Stocks and paid *me—which money* will go into the mass of my fortune and you all three will share it. Therefore I take nothing from Susan; she and her children may live with my kind wife and me till we die and Susan may make such arrangements as she pleases, and may herself buy the house if she continues partial to it.

V

Draft of Letter from Thomas Coutts to Lady Burdett.

1816.

I can never take a pen to write or begin to speak on the subject of your letter to me received on Thursday night, without clearly seeing how all the consequent misery to this day might have been entirely prevented, had your conduct and Susan's on my marriage been such as common decency and propriety to your father demanded. I have always been most kindly and affectionately attached to you all, as much as ever a father was or could be, I verily believe, since the creation of the world. I have conducted myself through a long life without much impropriety, and, without boasting of any pre-eminence in talents or in any way, I have always had a kind of knowledge of what was *right* for me, and *best* for me to do. In this view I saw in the young woman I have married qualities that I am confident made her worthy of being the wife of any man, and to do credit and to adorn any station of life, however exalted, and I felt confident she would be the greatest comfort to the latter end of my days in this world, and the preserver of my life. . . . But to this day what has she met with but coldness and neglect, hardly naming or looking at her, and to me passing her by as one not fit to be named; while from all my best friends, and from the world in general she has had the kindest proofs of very uncommon

approbation and regard and attention which even all your and Susan's neglect of her could not prevent ?

I refrain from saying anything to you of Sir Francis, though to all the rest of the world, when I cannot avoid speaking, I must ever express the contempt I think his conduct and his letters to me deserve. They were such indeed as was I a man of his age I do not believe he *durst* have shown. He wrote to me he considered himself degraded by remaining in the Piccadilly House, and proposed going immediately to an Hotel. Therefore I think he must be much more degraded by staying there for months. Most true it is that neither Mrs Coutts or myself could ever have even wished you to leave it. But, indeed, my dearest Sophia, earnestly as I ever did and ever shall wish to promote your happiness, I feel as things are it is much better for yourself as well as for me that you should go to another house. I give my true feelings as they are, and I must add that *Sir Francis must quit it*, and it can be no hardship in him to escape from *degradation*, and as I cannot separate man and wife, I can only grieve that he has put it out of my power to preserve you from this. Indeed, I earnestly wish he would leave it soon. My intention then is to offer it to Susan for all her own and her children's lives, or upon a lease, or in any other way she likes. . . . My wife and me are perfectly happy together as any two ever were. . . . She is of a most sensitive and feeling disposition, alive in a strong degree to every act of kindness shown her, but miserable at the smallest slight from those she loves and wishes to be in harmony with. While she feels herself cruelly treated, she is sensible she does not deserve it, but still cannot bear it, especially from any near connection of mine ; she will submit without complaining, but at times will burst out, and I verily believe would break her heart were she obliged to see it. I feel it a duty therefore on my part, and I cannot condone the conduct of others and protect her from them and keep her out of the way of meeting them.

VI

Thomas Coutts to Mrs Coutts.

22nd April 1816.

My Dearest Harriot,

I feel that all my connections that know you love and esteem you as you so well deserve. I am sure your own heart tells you that you have the approbation of Heaven, and every reason to be content and happy on earth.

None but my very nearest of blood have since you married me shown you any marks but those of affection; but, indeed, my children seem determined never to let me be happy according to my own feeling of it; and I think it is very hard that any of them should deny to you what it would seem to be the greatest happiness to themselves to bestow. . . . Most strange it is that they who I have from the moment of their birth watched over with the most tender regard, indulged in every wish of their heart . . . in which I have always been encouraged by you as much as if you had been the mother that bore them—is it not strange, I say, that they . . . should not be blessed by their kind goodwill to you, were it only on my account? Certainly it shows they place very little confidence indeed in my opinion, or in the truth, honour and honesty of my conduct.

Still I have always flattered myself and built in my mind the fond hope that Heaven will turn their dear hearts towards you, the most kind of human creatures, and that I shall yet live to see everything come round and producing the happiness to all that is only wanting to make me the most content and blessed of men. . . . The shameful and despicable conduct of Sir Francis Burdett (which I shall ever despise, or, indeed, any ill will or ill treatment of you from him, or any relative) will defeat their own base, mean purposes, and they will have no other effect on me than to confirm my love and affection to you, if possible, more strongly, and to force me on measures more powerfully to protect you from their malice, by showing you more and more kind-

ness while I live and placing you in case you survive me, in such a situation as in my opinion may tend most effectually to your honour and happiness while you remain behind me. . . . Never regard nor be uneasy about what envious, malicious enemies can say against you; recall to your remembrance your kind, affectionate love and fidelity to me, the happiness and unbounded confidence in which we lived together, and the truly affectionate and devoted heart of your dear Husband. . . .

THOMAS COUTTS.

[On the outside.] God bless you, my kind, affectionate Tom, for this invaluable letter.

HARRIOT COUTTS.

[On foolscap sheet. W.M. 1815.]

VII

Mrs Coutts to Lady Guilford.

STRAND,
August 21st, 1816.

MY DEAR LADY GUILFORD,

If you have unkind feelings about me believe me I do not deserve them, let us meet as friends and forever bury in oblivion on both sides all unpleasant reflections. We are going to Holly Lodge to-day, to-morrow the Trotters dine with us there to take leave before they return home, and on Friday Mr Vaughan[1] and Mr Leach[2] dine with us in Stratton Street. I write this that you may join our parties if you please, but of this be assured at all times you and your children will ever find a most affectionate welcome and a warm heart towards you all from

HARRIOT COUTTS.

[1] John Taylor Vaughan, known as "Hat" Vaughan, "an eccentric character, well known at Brookes's, where he courted the Whig aristocracy, and was famous for his cook, his wines and his brusque manner." *Journal of Thomas Raikes*, 1858, i. 205.

[2] Probably Sir John Leach, 1760-1834, at this time Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall, afterwards Master of the Rolls.

My beloved Tom,

I have written a letter to Lady Guilford which I send to you. Pray tell me do you think I have done right or proper, if I have sent it, love: you know my feeling and wishes better even than myself, and that you approve my conduct in all things is the greatest blessing of my life. God bless you Tom! you tell me I never gave you one moment uneasiness since you first knew me to this day, and it shall not be my fault if I ever do.

VIII

Lady Guilford to Mrs Coutts

Putney Hill,
August 22nd, 1816.

Dear Mrs Coutts,

I am very much obliged to you for your kind answer to the wishes I have begged my father to express that we should all meet again; be assured that it is my wish to consign all unpleasant reflections to oblivion.

We shall be happy to dine at Holly Lodge to-day—meantime my daughters unite in kind remembrance with yours sincerely,

S. Guilford.

IX

Thomas Coutts to Mrs Coutts.

Holly Lodge,
[*October 3rd*, 1816.]

My Dearest Harriot,

Sitting here this 3d day of October, 1816, I feel very happy in expressing (though far short of the feeling of affection and satisfaction of my heart) the delight of my having ever since I knew you found the most perfect satisfaction in your conduct in every respect towards me and towards all belonging to me, and the clearest conviction of your most affectionate attachment to me and all connected with me.

I feel all this from the bottom of my heart, and am clear in the belief that the sincerity of your affectionate attachment to me and mine can never alter, but will be found unalterable to the last hour of your life, as mine to you must ever continue.

I write this at a moment you have gone into another room, as it delights me to express the comfort I feel and the pleasure I know any repetition of my love and affection always gives you.

THOMAS COUTTS.

[P.S.]

OH, MY DEAREST!

You are a most extraordinarily good intelligent person; intuitive knowledge from Heaven and perfect goodness graces every action of your Life. *The gift of Heaven*! In every station of life your goodness has always been seen by those capable of judging or appreciating it, and there has never been anything wrong in you, or anything in your heart or conduct but virtuous goodness, most truly and sincerely dear to me and making me the happiest of men. My life would, indeed, have been most miserable and not worth preserving without you. You are always good and kind to me. God bless you for all you have done for me! My grateful feelings are very poor, indeed, and even actions can never repay all your noble and unceasing and most affectionate consideration and love to your own Dearest Coutts.

X

Thomas Coutts to Mrs Coutts.

31*st December*, 1816,
not far distant from the New Year, 1817, and our Company being all gone.

MY DEAREST LOVE, just as I am going to my bed this last night of 1816, I write to beg earnestly as you love me and value my life and happiness to promise me solemnly that nothing that my family or their friends or connections may at any time say or do or even think

or hint or in any way give out in any way or manner whatever, may at any time cause you one moment's uneasiness while I live or after, if you should survive me. If they should speak ill of you laugh at their folly, ignorance or malice and be happy in the sweet clear rectitude of your own heart, knowing well that from the day I married I may truly say from the day I first knew you to the present moment, I have always had but one opinion of you, that you have ever been the warm friend of my children and have never in your life done or said anything to me but in their favour and urging me to do all things for their comfort. . . . The unjust and mistaken feelings of my children which I have noticed with so much concern, is my great inducement to writing this that in all circumstances it may be a blessing and comfort to you and a protection to you against all the shafts of hatred and malice and all uncharitableness, to the end of your life.

Believe me the view your goodness gives me of heaven and hereafter is the greatest happiness I can ever enjoy in this world and will make me quit it when it is heaven's will; till then I shall ever remain your constant, happy and most affectionate husband,

THOMAS COUTTS.

XI

Copy of a Letter sent to Lady Guilford, July 5th, 1817.

Colonel M'Mahon has this evening told me that you told him that you knew very well the Queen was determined not to receive Mrs Coutts at the very time when you assured me, in the most solemn manner, you knew nothing of any such determination, or had ever heard her Majesty had so resolved. So you was carrying my wife to the Queen when you well knew she was to be rejected and affronted: not to do her honor but to witness, and, I must suppose, to enjoy her disgrace. What could be so wicked, so malicious, or so spiteful? I never [could] have believed you capable of it! How can I put up with or bear it; at the very moment too that all the world are admitting the settlements I am making are mag-

nificent beyond example, and I am even told you yourself acknowledge they are so. But my horror of your treatment of me and my innocent, unoffending wife, who merits the greatest kindness from you in place of such malice, is such, that I must and will withdraw these settlements, and do determine to withhold them unless the matter can be cleared to my satisfaction; and, I must tell you, I will take every opportunity that ever comes in my power, to prove to all the world the cruel baseness and malignity of your conduct and proceeding towards myself and my wife; such as, I am sure, are unknown and unexampled.

Postcript to Draft of Letter sent by Thomas Coutts to his daughter.

I just wish to add this line, and beg you to ask your own hearts, have you ever since my marriage done any one kind act to me or Mrs Coutts? Have you ever shown any public notice of us? Have you ever introduced her to any one of your friends or connections, though you knew well this was the way to gratify me and to make an end of abuse from envious illiberal people?

XII

Statement in the handwriting of Thomas Coutts
[*A copy as sent to Lady Bute.*]

5th January, 1818.

I have written and talked 'till I am really worn out about the stupid and unfeeling conduct of Lady Guilford to my dear wife, consequently to me, and Lady Guilford must think me made of marble if I could any longer endure the cruel way she has behaved since the day of my marriage now three years to the present moment. I have not one fault to find with my wife. She has devoted her whole life to me, never an hour from my side, and to the tranquil way in which we *now* live, I feel assured I owe the life I have—without her I do not wish to live. Can it be supposed then after the experience I

have had of the violent and abusive conduct of my daughter so frequently overlooked and yet always continued, can I again subject myself to it? Indeed it would destroy me—therefore for my own sake I will and must avoid a repetition. The dreadful crime I have committed is of marrying the most virtuous of her sex and her being my comfort and prolonger of my life in peace, it seems, can never be forgiven; and as my family had taken so impertinent a part against what I had thought proper to do I resolved to act as becomes my situation in life—and all the misrepresentations made of my wife, by my children, and those who call themselves their friends, has only made me double my gratitude, and love, to her. I never can do enough for her, and I shall ever lament I have not power to reward her as she so justly merits, for I have watched all her actions. Her very inmost thoughts I am very sure I know, and her unremitting anxiety to do good to all belonging to me was so striking, that any person not prejudiced by some bad passion must have seen clearly and adored her for it; but all has gone for nothing, and wicked abuse has been her return, even in the hearing of my servants; and my own ears and eyes have seen and heard such things that human nature could support no longer and all intercourse must be at an end. I almost degrade myself by noticing the unhandsome behaviour of all Lady Guilford's friends to me, but, certainly, it cannot be supposed such folly could make me think kindly of the persons who caused it. I have often said I never would again write or speak on the subject, but this I trust will certainly be the last time of my doing either.

THOMAS COUTTS.

XIII

Statement in handwriting of Mrs Coutts.

"A TRUE PICTURE OF MY HEART."

Some time ago I was most cruelly and contemptuously ill-treated and abused, held out as an abandoned and

wicked woman; in consequence of which many friends who had always been kind and very civil to me turned their backs on me. I had never deserved such treatment, and I have proved by my conduct I never deserved such abominable treatment.

A respectable and amiable gentleman happened to know me and was struck with the honest sincerity of my character and he has now been three years my husband. A more happy couple does not, nor ever did exist. And we hope it will please Heaven to preserve us to each other for many years yet to come.

Those who turned their backs upon me I never can see or receive. But if there are friends who knew me, Harriot Mellon, and have never behaved ill to me, I am and so is my dear Mr Coutts happy and always willing to receive them.

CHAPTER XXX

LADY HESTER STANHOPE [1]

" A daughter of the gods, divinely tall,
And most divinely fair."

TENNYSON.

THOMAS COUTTS prided himself on his devotion to the elder Pitt, and, after his death, he remained the " loyal servitor " of his widow and his sons. His attitude towards " his titled constituents," the great nobles who condescended to bank with him, and to borrow his money, was marked by a formal respect, guarded and tempered by a proud and dignified independence, but there was no such reserve in his relations to Lady Chatham. It was his duty and his pleasure to be literally her humble and obedient servant. Her granddaughter, Lady Hester Stanhope, inherited a portion of these seigneurial rights and privileges. Whether or no he knew her in her childhood, as he certainly did another grandchild, Harriet Hester Elliot (*vide ante*, i. 206), he had met her in 1797, and speaks of her as " a great favourite with my daughters." The romantic story of the " Queen of the Desert," first given to her own countrymen by J. W. Kinglake in *Eöthen*, in 1844, has been retold in the last few years by Mrs Charles Roundell, and by the late Duchess of Cleveland, and is too well known to bear repetition, save in the briefest summary, and by way of introduction to a few hitherto unpublished letters which fill up a gap in her biography.

[1] *Lady Hester Stanhope*, 1909. *Life of Lady Hester Stanhope*, 1914.

Incidentally they illustrate the character of the kind and wise friend and supporter to whom they were addressed.

Lady Hester Lucy Stanhope was born in March 1776. She was the elder daughter of Charles, third Earl of Stanhope, by his first wife, Lady Hester Pitt, daughter of the great Earl of Chatham, and his wife Hester, born Grenville. On her father's side she was a great-great-granddaughter of Lady Grizel Baillie, of poetic and historic fame. Her father, a great inventive genius, who anticipated the discovery of the screw-propeller, and prophesied that steamships would cross the Atlantic, was "a friend of humanity" abroad, a martinet and tyrant at home. He styled himself "Citizen Stanhope," and took down the coronets which surmounted his park gates at Chevening, but he neglected and bullied his children, and drove them one after another into revolt. Lady Hester was the last to go, in 1800, when she took refuge with Lady Chatham at Burton Pynsent. After her grandmother's death, in 1803, she lived under the protection of her uncle, the younger Pitt, kept house for him in London and at Walmer Castle, and entertained his official guests and private friends. This was her hour of triumph, and after Pitt's death, in 1806, though she received a parliamentary grant of £1200 a year, she had no longer the means nor the position to command the submission and adulation of the great world which had courted her for her uncle's sake. Another and perhaps heavier blow was the death of Sir John Moore (January 16, 1809), the one man whom she really loved and might possibly have married. Sorrow, ennui and baffled ambition drove her to seek distraction in foreign travel, and with a vaguely-formed plan of spending a year or two in Sicily, then under British protection, she left England, as it turned out for good and all, in February 1810.

Perhaps the most brilliant, certainly the most amusing, episodes of her life belong to the next four years (1810-

1814) which preceded the date of the first of those of her letters to Coutts which were preserved by his widow. On her voyage eastward she spent a few months at Malta, where she was entertained by the Governor, General Oakes, who lodged then in one of his country houses, the Palazzo di San Antonio, which a few years before had seemed rather a prison than a palace to "Samuel T. Coleridge, Segretario Publico" of the High Commissioner, Sir Alexander Ball. There she fell in with Byron's friend Hobhouse on his homeward journey from Greece, who writes her down as "a violent, peremptory person." Her next halting-place was Athens, where she was introduced to Byron himself, but she was not impressed, save by the curve of his neck and the "curl on his forehead." Like the first of the Brunswick family whom, as she puts it, "her grandfather and Mr Pitt helped to keep on the Throne," Lady Hester despised "boetry and bainting." In the late autumn of 1811 she sailed for Alexandria, but was wrecked off the coast of Rhodes. Then it was, her clothes having been washed overboard, that she "had nothing for it but to dress as a Turk." Thenceforth, at home and abroad, on her divan or astride an Arab charger, she wore the turban, the flowing robes, and the breeches of a Pasha, Syrian soldier, or Bedouin Arab, as occasion demanded. She wrote "an account of her shipwreck to Mr Coutts," but neither that letter nor one of 1815, full of invectives against the Allies, in which she speaks of her banker as "the only remaining friend of my illustrious Grandfather," are forthcoming.

After a voyage up the Nile and a visit to the Great Pyramid, which she failed to ascend (probably because she would not be dragged up), she reached Jaffa, May 1812, and in Palestine she remained for seven-and-twenty years, till the day of her death. Her first visit to the Druse country, on the slopes of Lebanon, was on the invitation of the Emir Beshyr, the Prince of the Mountain, at first

in her eyes "a mild and amiable man," but afterwards her bitterest foe; and on her return from the Emir's palace she settled in her "own hired house" at Damascus. From Damascus, in March 1813, she made an excursion on horseback to the ruins of Palmyra, some 120 miles to the north-east. Here, as she told her friend H. W. Wynn, she was "crowned Queen of the Desert" under the Triumphal Arch in front of the Temple of the Sun. Some bearded elders chanted verses in her praise, (hailing her "the sun, the star, the pearl, the lion, the light from Heaven and the Queen"), and all the spectators joined in chorus."

After spending the summer at Latakia, in October 1813 she rented the deserted convent of Mar Elias, some two miles from Sayda (Sidon), "a low square building, high upon the mountain-side, commanding a wide view of the sea," but on the point of starting she was seized with the plague, and it was not till February 1814 that she was able to take possession of her new house.

It was from Mar Elias that the first letter of the following series was written on June 4, 1814. Three or four years later she removed to another deserted monastery near the village of Darjoun, or Djoun. "To this," writes the Duchess of Cleveland, "she built many new additions, and laid out on what had been a bare mountain-top, terraced gardens (with arbours, marble fountains and thickets of roses) and orchards, to which water was conveyed by conduits from a distance." Here she remained till her death, June 23, 1839, and here it was she was visited by Lamartine in 1831, and by Kinglake in 1838. Silk Buckingham, who had visited her many years before, in 1816, describes her "as above the usual height, with regular and delicately formed features, a soft blue eye, . . . an expression of habitual pensiveness"; but Kinglake, who saw her in old age, speaks of "the large, commanding features of the gaunt woman then sixty

years old or more," who reminded him of Copley's picture of Chatham as he lay death-stricken in the House of Lords, in April, 1778. "Her face was of the most astonishing whiteness"—"her dress, from the chin down to the point at which it is concealed by the drapery on her lap, was a mass of white linen loosely folding." She must have been, like Elspeth of the Craigburnfoot in Scott's *Antiquary*, "an awesome wife," and eight or nine hours of her unbroken monologue must have been an "awesome" if awe-inspiring experience. She believed, or professed to believe, in astrology, and she kept in luxurious privacy two Arabian mares, named Leila, a dark chestnut, born, according to prophecy, with "a natural saddle," and Lulu, a silver-grey, to carry the Messiah and Hester, "Queen of the Jews," as they rode side by side into reconquered Jerusalem. Was she mad? There is not a trace of insanity in her letters or in her attitude to European consul or ambassador, or to oriental Pasha or Sheikh of the desert. But she indulged her will, her whims, her ambitions and her fancies in an insane manner and to an insane degree. There was, however, a noble sanity in her selfless generosity and her protection of refugees after the Battle of Navarino in 1827, of the garrison of Acre in 1831, a host of widows and orphans, and all who fled to her for succour.[1]

[1] *Travels among the Arab Tribes. Ib.*, 1825.

Correspondence

June 4, 1814—Jan. 7, 1820.

I

Lady Hester Stanhope to Thomas Coutts.

[Received 20th Octr. 1814.]
[A portion of this letter is missing.]

[Mar Elias.]

June 4th [1814]. I waited to make out my account about money matters till I heard from Mr Barker,[1] to whom I had sent a bill for £200 dated June 1st, 1814. I have just heard from him, his letter dated May 22nd and the bill must wait unsigned till the 1st, and he says that I shall have it by another messenger, which may not come for a fortnight yet, therefore I cannot detain my letters for Malta any longer. One is always obliged here to draw for money before one wants it: this very bill must go to Acre, and then wait till the Pasha's Banker wants to send money to Constantinople. The plague mends at Acre; here it is about the same. The distressing thing is that the poor infected people turned out of the villages, are often without food, for no body will take them any, and some are unable from weakness to fetch it, and those who are not, are not allowed to approach any place where they can procure it. I have been building an oven for them, and having a pretty good supply of corn and flour, I send them some some times with some rice. One cannot allow fellow creatures in such a deplorable situation to starve. . . .

I wish there was a Humane Society established in England, to make researches upon the nature of the plague, for it is of the utmost consequence. If peace is made and commerce again commences between Turkey

[1] John Barker, the Consul-General at Aleppo. He corresponded with Coutts with regard to Lady Hester's affairs.

and the ports of France and Italy, what danger, is there not, of this malady being again being brought into Europe?

It would not be difficult for a person who had *influence* and *money* to make some very satisfactory experiments in this country, but they ought to have a village apart for so doing. I have a vast number of new and curious ideas upon the subject, but it would be useless to communicate them to any one, but a first-rate medical man; all the common-rate doctors I have seen know much less about it than I do myself and have not one hundred part of my courage. Talk of all this, pray, to the friends of Humanity, and let them *think* a little upon the suffering of so many thousands of their fellow creatures. A beautiful Circassian woman (the wife of a great Bey) who I had a great friendship for, as her disposition was very much that of Lady Bute's, has fallen a victim to the plague. Also a very enlightened Turk, and great Effendi, a particular friend of mine is also dead, and when he could no longer converse with me, he constantly corresponded with me. He was a man of great merit, and considerable information. The Prince of the Druses [1] is remarkably kind to me, and treats me with great confidence. My convent is a very pleasant one and well secured against plague; the air is fine, and the water good. I amuse the French Savans (*sic*) extremely, and they are all politeness and liberality towards me in every thing. They are not like us, they know the importance of these countries, and take every possible means of acquiring information respecting them. They tell me that there is a magnificent book [2] published in France about Egypt, I should like much to see it; every thing the French do, they *do well, compleatly*. I think I have

[1] Lady Hester was mistaken in her first impression of Emir Beshyr, or Prince of the Mountain. He became one of her worst enemies. "I know very well," she said, "that there is not a more profound and bloody tyrant on the face of the earth."—*Memoirs of Lady Hester Stanhope*, 1845, i. 61.

[2] *L'Egypte sous les Pharaons*. Par J. F. Champollion, 2 vols. 8vo, 1814; or, possibly, the earlier volumes of *Description de l'Egypte*, in ten volumes, 1809-1822, with an atlas in ten volumes, Paris, 1809-1822.

now written you enough upon philosophical subjects, and must now inquire after your health, which I hope is good, and that Mrs Coutts is better. Your spirits will then be improved, which I should be delighted to hear was the case.

With my best and kindest wishes believe me,
Dear Sir,
Yours most sincerely,
H. L. STANHOPE.

P.S.—I write to dear Lady Bute by this opportunity.

II

Lady Hester Stanhope to Thomas Coutts.

SYRIA,
March 20th, 1818.

(Original of a letter Mr Barker will deliver to you.)

[Recd. 7 May, 1819.]

DEAR SIR,

I send this to France for Mr Barker to forward through the medium of Messrs La Fitte and Co. just for you to understand a little the state of my affairs before you make out your account, and begin a new regular one, and send me the letter of credit for £2000.

The Mortgage will pay itself or if Mr B. likes to take it he may have the obtion (*sic*). I only entreat one thing that you will speak decidedly [to —— ——] about eternally contradicting me, for it not only prevents my not knowing how to act, but it makes me quite miserable, for I know of no one existing who has the smallest *right* of controlling my actions. I know what I am about, and a cool-headed sensible man like you, could I converse with you, instead of writing would do the same justice to my present conduct as you have ever done to the past. If I wanted advice I should ask it, but I decline any from any quarter—only I wish not to be deceived as I have been and disobeyed repeatedly. In short, if this

goes on I will make public how I have been treated. I am obliged to speak thus, as mild conduct little suits persons upon whom reasoning has so little effect, besides what right have they to expect explanations on my part? when I served my family I made none; I even bore with patience all the histories fabricated about my resources, and even *you* did not know what I had mortgaged.[1] I shall draw no more drafts upon you, unless (it might be possible) for £100 before next year, and this I trust will make all clear, and then I shall hope to allow the pension to be always a quarter or more in advance. I shall try to have some conversation with your friend before I leave the East, and you will see whether or not he will count me a fool, or a spendthrift, but like my Grandfather I cannot bear contradiction; it quite kills me by inches. I am responsible to God and man for my conduct, which cannot be *clean* if others meddle and interfere in my concerns; besides I will not suffer it, *coûte que coûte.* I should be obliged to you to allow Dr M[eryon][2] to have a duplicate of my account the first settling should he be in England (for perhaps he may be in France), for though a very dull man he is accurate and most honest. He must have money to pay for commissions persons here intrusted him with, and which he foolishly undertook without the money in hand. When I made my plan I thought it quite certain that the £8000 would be placed in your house last December.

. . . . . .

Believe me dear Sir,
Yours most sincerely,
H. L. STANHOPE.

My health my dear friend, like that of dear Lady Bute's, cannot suffer cold, and even if it could, I could never live in England, for I cannot forget the treatment I received

[1] Possibly a real or supposed reversionary interest in her grandmother's estate at Burton Pynsent.

[2] Charles Lewis Meryon, M.D., her travelling physician and secretary, author of the *Memoirs of Lady Hester Stanhope*, 3 vols., 1845.

from my friends, and the severe reproaches they loaded me with for injuring no one but myself. I forgive them, but can feel no confidence in them in future. My spirit is too high to live ever amongst those who have reproached me. *La belle France* is ruined by the set of English[1] disposed over a country whose rights they have violated, and where the English name must, and I believe is, *justly detested*. This country is too expensive for me, but I have hitherto strained every resource, in order to acquire knowledge which may be useful to manhood, and I have collected more, (but I keep it to myself and wish you not to *notice* it) than perhaps any *not one* but a dozen travellers have ever yet got hold of. God did not intend that the power with which he endowed my mind, should be of no use to the world, or that I should become the slave of prejudice when nature gave me noble and high ideas. Useless perhaps in the present state of Europe, but I shall carry them to a *new world*, and there I hope to prosper, and give up my pension in 1820, for I *feel* that if I cannot revere England I have no *right* to her resources. Little will suffice me where poverty is no disgrace, and it is better to be very poor than in a situation in which it is impossible to make both ends meet. You were always kind to me from my childhood and gave me more credit than I deserved in every thing, therefore I am sure that could I converse with you, you would think me a most extraordinary creature; indeed I do not know how to account, myself, for my success in my pursuits; it cannot be individual merit, but a decree of fate. My only great merit has been being indefatigable amidst all the difficulties I have met with, but I have now I hope gone through the worst, and shall have all my affairs settled the end of the year; the pension of part of this year and the odd hundreds over the £3000 will I hope free all, and enable you to give me credit for £2000. I really

[1] Two years before, April 22, 1816, she wrote to her cousin, the Marquis of Buckingham: "The granddaughter of Lord Chatham, the niece of the illustrious Pitt, feels herself blush—she was born in England—that England, who has made her accursed gold the counterpoise of justice," etc., etc.

am charmed with your friend Sir R. L.,[1]—that a man I never saw could treat me in so gentlemanly a way, is a striking contrast to the blackguard conduct of many of his countrymen [2]—Mr Bankes for one, who sent his servant lately to remain two months at a convent at Acre, and to tell every body that it was true I had somehow or other got over the Turks, and made myself out a great person there, but that in England I was unknown by the great, and those who knew me despised me. The Consul of Jaffa took him to task for this, and desired to know if he had been in England, and where he picked up this information; he said from *his master*. I believe it to be true, as his master has said the same thing, and ran about telling strangers my poor father was a madman, and I was a toady of the Duke of York. But what effect has this had on the people there? they say all is *jealousy*, he says he is rich (meaning Bankes), if so, he holds his money from the Devil, as he does no good with it. . . .

How mistaken is Sir F. Burdett, if he thinks too much indulgence will reform mankind; it would only render those bad who are now but half and half. Experience has taught me this, and I am convinced that a well-applied blow to some dispositions does more good than all the sermons the tenderest heart and most sensible head can give. When persons are devoid of reason, what

[1] Sir Robert Liston, ambassador extraordinary at the Porte. He had been made a K.C.B. in September 1816. He was a Scotsman, an acquaintance of Sir Walter Scott, who notes in his *Journal*, under date June 23, 1828:—"This morning the two Annes and I went to Sir Robert Liston at Milburn Tower [near Gogar, six miles west of Edinburgh]—a beautiful retreat. The travels of the venerable diplomatist are indicated by the various articles of curiosity he has picked up in different corners of the world. . . . The conservatory and garden are very fine. . . . The good old knight and his lady are worthy of it, for they enjoy it." He wrote more than once to Coutts on Lady Hester's affairs.

[2] William John Bankes (d. 1855), Byron's "collegiate pastor, and master and patron" at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he ruled the roast, or rather the *roasting*, and was guilty of all mischief." He was M.P. for Cambridge University, 1822-1826. He accompanied Lady Hester to Palmyra, but afterwards took offence and fell out with her. "As to your namesake," she wrote to Sir Joseph Banks in 1817, "I cannot endure him." See *Letters, etc.*, of Lord Byron, 1898, i. 120, *n.* 1.

is the use of talking? and how make them feel if they have no heart, no sensibility? but people are like horses, there is no common bridle for all, a skilful horseman must chuse the bit best suited to the horse's mouth, and different nations have different dispositions, and must be governed accordingly; Sir F. should consider that it is easier to light a fire than to put it out. A clever man would try to *direct* the public opinion, but to avoid every thing inflamatory. I am rather uneasy about him, and Bruce, who is full of words, but in difficult circumstances would very little be able to get himself out of a scrape. Great intrepidity and presence of mind, as well as audacity, is required in a man who takes the line I hear he follows. In short I hear nothing pleasant from any quarter, and God only knows how it will all end.[1] Certain it is, that there is every probability that the best subjects will emigrate, not to witness the fall of their country, or be mixed up with those who take imprudent means of accomplishing just objects. *Great* will be the *events* in the course of this year if I calculate right, therefore perhaps I need not regret passing another winter here, for I will not stir untill I get the little I have out of England, unless it is to see your freind Sir Robert.

Adieu, dear Mr Coutts, may you live a thousand years, as the Arabs say; even if you do I shall ever remain yours affectionately and sincerely, H. L. S.

Tell me all about your beautiful grandchildren.[2] The Sultan's blood has come out in them it appears, by the beauty of the one, and disposition of the other. Is young Burdett as handsome as his father?

[1] Lady Hester admired and trusted Burdett, but she could "quiz" him when she chose. Writing (in 1801) to her friend T. J. Jackson, afterwards minister at Berlin, she says, "I never could discover but one fault in my friend's (Sir F. B.'s) character, compiled with a peculiar talent for making jumbles, with a vast share of absence and inattention."—*Life, etc.*, 1914, p. 22.

[2] Lord Dudley and his sister, Lady Frances Stuart. The "Sultan" was probably a sobriquet for the Marquis of Bute. Of Coutts' three daughters. Lady Bute was Lady Hester's especial friend. Her husband's intimacy with the Duke of York may, in the first instance, have brought them together, and constituted a bond of union.

III

Lady Hester Stanhope to Thomas Coutts.

THE STEEPS OF LEBANON
[MISHMOUSHY],
July 30th, 1819.

DEAR SIR,

I drew my last draft a little while before the pension became due having lost more than £1000[1] out of each £3000, and feared I might lose more, if I retarded taking money, as it was reported the coins were going to be changed. All this the dr. will explain. I am very much obliged to him for coming here, but I have sent him back, as I have taken a firm resolution to have no further communication with England except a formal letter to your house. It is a ruined country, the people are gone mad, and my friends and relations do not conduct themselves towards me as I think consistent with feeling and good sense. Recollect what I said ten years ago. The English will never succeed upon the continent, unless a miracle is worked in their favor, and even could this be the case, they will never know how to take advantage of success for the happiness of mankind.

Adieu, my dear Sir you may perhaps hear of my dying of indignation and disappointment that [—— and] many have not the public or private feeling of men, of my being murdered by Emissaries of the inquisitorial despotism now reigning in England, but you will never hear of my abandoning the cause of humanity and justice.

I don't care who reads this letter: I would say at a Congress of Sovereigns what I have said here.

Yours most sincerely and affectionately,

H. L. STANHOPE.

[1] Piastres.

IV

Lady Hester Stanhope to Messrs Coutts & Co.

Next week I go down to my Convent at the foot of the mountain,[1] I have dated my bills Seyde as the nearest town, as a person would frank from a *Post town.*

MOUNT LEBANON,
Octr. 11th, 1819.

GENTLEMEN,

I have drawn a good deal of money of late but it is unavoidable; you may have heard that the state of this country is not what it formerly was—no one Pasha at this moment in all Syria—and should the prevalent report of the death of the Pasha of Damascus prove true, in a few days that Hagni will also be shut, and I shall not be able to get money any where, as the merchants are all alarmed. The price of things prodigious, barley in some places at 250 Piastres . . . and all provisions scarce. In a fortnight's time I hope to have laid in my winter store and every thing I may want for some time, so that happen what may neither I, nor those about me, and my animals may starve. The Convent in which I reside most part of the year, has been shaken by an earthquake, and all the main timbers broken in two; to repair this, with other necessary improvements, in order to have all about me, has cost me much expense and trouble, but it was absolutely necessary. You will not hear of me again for *many many months,* but I hope shortly to hear of you by the return of the old Turk my servant, about whose safety I am very anxious, as the roads are at present by no means safe, and likely to become *less* so every day. This information is for yourself, Mr P. and Mr Coutts *only*; if you like to enclose him this letter it will save me the trouble of repeating its contents, and make him aware *why* I draw so much money at one moment. Probably all and more than I tell you you already know

[1] She must mean the Convent of Djinn, which was on the top of a rocky summit, yet far below the Heights of Lebanon.

from report, but I hate to be ranked amongst newsmongers, and be I in what country I may, I can better employ my time than scribbling what is called *news* which often does harm, and never any good. Recollect one thing however, that I am not the least alarmed: I am made for difficult times, my courage does not spring from reflexion, but is perfectly without effort, and my presence of mind instantaneous. I love the Turks, they love me, so I have little to fear, except *inconvenience* which I trust I have *obviated* by the preparations I have made. I by no means take a view of things in the *black point of view* many do, but I reason thus—often the change of *one* Pasha causes for a time disturbances, the change of *three*, therefore, causes still more for a time, then all will return to peace and quiet as before. The only European in my family I shipped off two days ago; he was without courage, and without *tact*; I chuse to be left quite to *myself*, and with the Grace of God I shall do very well. I can assure you if an 100 Gun line of battle ships was now waiting for me off this coast, I would not stir. I like this country better than any country, and I like a retired life, and good air, and the light of the Sun, which in England only appears about three times a year in all its majesty. The mists, and fogs, and stinks, are worse to me than all the Counds, Bedouins, &c., &c., of the East, who seldom do harm to people, who are civil to all who are civil to them and meddle with no one's affairs.

I am Gentlemen,
Yours.,
HESTER L. STANHOPE.

V

Lady Hester Stanhope to Thomas Coutts.

7th January, 1820.

DEAR SIR,

You must not be surprised at my long silence, for I have determined to have nothing to do with England, except just a letter to you upon money matters:—you

will without doubt have heard by this time of the directions I have given to a *Counsellor* whom I have never seen, but whose character I have the highest esteem for, believing him to be a man of the most Patriotic principles, of admirable talents, and elevated mind, and therefore one more likely to execute my wishes than any of my relations or those who call themselves my friends; therefore I trust that you will not give any advice contrary to my determination of selling the reversion of my part of the Burton Pynsent property, and that Mr Murray and —— will not attempt to contradict me upon that point, or even *reason* upon it, for it will be all in vain, and only expose me to have my Drafts *protested*, which if the case, all Europe shall know how I have been treated by my family for these last ten years; and crowned heads and beggars will then be able to judge if I am *mad* or *not*, as many English have reported me to be, in the passage through this country (persons I have never seen, and who also have tried to spread the same report upon the Continent, as well as saying I am an outcast whom none of my *family* will notice).—If they are dastardly enough to allow such reports to be spread without taking any notice of them, and to justify them by their own conduct, it is quite time to have done with them—but this is not all I have to complain of from Englishmen, but the rest cannot be contained in a letter. Had Charles lived, my retirement here might, and would have been charming, his pure soul and elevated mind would have applauded my motives for retiring from the world, and his exquisite sensibility and good sense would have taught him to respect my feelings, and never to oppose my wishes, and his firm and manly character would not have allowed me to be run down, even had I deserved it, much more to become the victim of calumny, which would certainly be the case, did I not stand upon *higher ground* than most people are aware of.

But what can be expected of those hatched in a Country which has become the hotbed of oppression, but dare I complain? when *he* who has enlightened human nature, (who causes half the known world to tremble) breathes an

impure air upon a barren rock ! ! !—You may hear I have been ill: it is true, over-fatigue, over-heating myself, and taking cold when hot, caused a pleurisy, which brought me to the brink of the grave. I lay 15 days, only taking a little barley water: my head never wandered, so I was perfectly aware of my complaint and I got a barber to bleed me several times and so recovered—the Doctors here having sent into another world all those I have known afflicted with this complaint, so I would see none of them. I am now well again. I mention this, that no false reports may be credited by you. Let me have the little I possess and God will take care of me. Whatever letters I may in future receive *except* from your house or hand I do not know, I shall send them back *unopened*. I trust you will send me in duplicate any intelligence you may receive of my orders being fulfilled. If they are speedily I shall consider myself under eternal obligations to the person who took my situation into reflection and made no stupid reasoning upon what they must take upon *trust*, and did not attempt to oppose a system founded upon principles which cannot undergo any change.

My kindest love to dear Lady Bute. I hope that Mrs Coutts and yourself are as cheerful and prospering as when you last wrote from Brighton.

Yours ever most sincerely,

H. L. S.

THOMAS COUTTS
From a silhouette in the possession of Messrs. Coutts & Co.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

"That which should accompany old age,
As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends."
Macbeth, v. 3.

I DO not know at what precise moment, or in response to what overtures on either side, a lasting reconciliation was brought about between Thomas Coutts and his family; but a sentence in one of Lord Erskine's letters, dated September 25th, 1815, proves that before that date there had been a declaration of peace:—"The manner in which you are now surrounded by your descendants must be most peculiarly gratifying to *Mrs Coutts*, as it proves what the combination of good sense and good feeling can accomplish. I verily believe she has established a permanent union of confidence and kindness; and turned to both the interruptions to this which are for ever passed away." On his part it was not so much a question of the continuance of voluntary allowances, as of a cordial and complete recognition of his wife which blocked the way, and when that was, or seemed to be assured, he welcomed the renewal of intimacy and affection. He was not a man to do anything by halves. His wife was his wife, the mistress and head of his household, the natural possessor and recipient of all his worldly goods, but his children were his children, and though they had rebelled against him, he was incapable of bearing malice. He did not pride himself on his piety or his virtues, but, in theological phrase, he was unconscious of the *possibilitas peccandi*. For eighty years and more he had gone his own way, successful and unrepentant, and

in the sublime confidence that wisdom dwelt with him, he blotted out rather than forgave the transgressions of any who should do him an injury. His ten years' intimacy with Harriot Mellon during the lifetime of his first wife, his secret and sudden marriage with its inevitable sequel, a bitter and prolonged family quarrel, may be explained and, perhaps, condoned, but they were at best "regrettable necessities." The record is no doubt *un document humain*, a psychological curiosity, but on the whole it leaves us mourning. It is the unromantic reality, not the romantic story of Thomas Coutts, the part he played as maker and critic of the history of his own time, which justifies his biography. But it is only fair to his memory, and to that of his second wife, to let them speak for themselves and to bear witness to their own felicity. The impression which the scanty records of the closing years of their married life conveys, perhaps was intended to convey, is singularly pleasing and agreeable. The husband had defied the conventions and braved the displeasure of his family in marrying an actress, believed by some and suspected by many to have lived with him as his mistress. His wife, though she had won her *coup*, might have been forgiven if she had merely proved herself kind and faithful. But they depict themselves (and who can gainsay them?) as married lovers. The following birthday and wedding-day letters (the latter dated on January 18, not April 12th, be it noted) are from Coutts to his wife. He was alive and close at hand, perhaps in the next room, at the time, and there was no need of an answer.

Thomas Coutts to his Wife.

[*September* 18, 1819.]

My Dearest Harriot,

I write this on my birthday, the 18th of September, entering on my 85th year; and on 1820, the 18th of January next, we shall enter into the seventh

year of our marriage, during which time I can truly say I have every day been more and more convinced of your goodness, purity and unbounded kindness to me, and to all belonging to me or connected with me, and of your truth, fidelity, and honourable and virtuous attention and love to me.

I beg most earnestly of you, my best beloved angelic Harriot, you will pass over, unnoticed, at all times, every feeling, real or imaginary, you may fancy intended to be offer'd by any of my family, or by any persons connected with any of them. I very well know you are well deserving of the regard and friendship of all good people . . . and you ought to despise all such vile wicked proceedings, setting yourself above all such wickedness, knowing, as you must, that you are above all such abominable slanders, and that you are sure nothing can ever deprive you of my firm love and affection, which nothing while I live can ever shake or in the smallest degree diminish. On this ground we have only to trust in Heaven to preserve us for many years yet to come, in life, contentment and happiness together, and put our trust in Him to whom all hearts are open, and by whom the goodness and uprightness of yours must be truly appreciated. . . .

Day and night I shall ever be delighted with your goodness, you best of women, and most comfortable and most amiable of wives.

If my children love me, as I really believe they do, they never can prove it to me so clearly as showing kindness, attention and affection to you, my dearest Love!

Thomas Coutts to his Wife.

[*January 1st*, 1821.]

The New Year's Day, 1821, comes again, and this seventh anniversary of our marriage follows quickly on the 18th, and finds you, my dearest and most kind, affectionate, amiable wife, companion and sweet friend, in the same happy state of harmony in which I am persuaded we shall ever continue, and [I] feel certain we shall always delight to be. I owe everything to you, my good

Angel; and it makes me delighted beyond measure to observe that every year raises you in the opinion, not only of all my family and intimate acquaintances, but in the minds of every person whom you become known to; and it makes me happy to comfort your dear heart in the declaration of the unbounded goodness with which you bless me every day, which is every day more conspicuous, and I am sure is approved by the Almighty in Heaven—where we shall meet hereafter in glory and inexpressible delight.

Be assured, my lovely Harriot, I shall, while on earth, never have a wish beyond the happiness of your being preserved to me in health and happiness, and that the obligations I am under to you, were there nothing else, will ever induce me to act steadily with the purest love and affection to you without deviation to the end, as I am, for ever and ever, your truly affectionate, loving and devoted old husband,

T. COUTTS.

Long afterwards, when death had removed her protector and companion, she betrays in genuine and artless fashion that her devotion was unbought, that the bond was mutual.

Note on flyleaf of a *Book of Common Prayer*, 1812: "'I never lose my spirits.' My blessed Tom said these words to me in a dream. After he had kissed me and laid his dear head on my bosom, I felt his tears on my cheek—I was so happy, but so melancholy happy. He looked so well, tranquil and divine. He anxiously desired me to change my shoes, for fear of taking cold, as I had walked through water to him. . . . I see him at this moment, upright, beautiful and composed, as in his long and immaculate life. He looks just as I first saw his dear, blessed face upwards of twenty years ago. This dream has made a strong impression on my mind. The constant repetition to me of 'pray remember, be happy; look at me, I never lose my spirits; for my sake do the same.' All this and more passed through my mind in a dream about 5 o'clock

on Wednesday morning, October the 8th, 1820, in Stratton Street, London, having unexpectedly come from Broadstairs on the 7th."

Perhaps the one outstanding fact in the life of Thomas Coutts which has passed into general knowledge, is that he left a vast sum of accumulated wealth and a *predominant* partnership in the House in the Strand to the second Mrs Coutts, without a single legacy or reversionary interest to his children or their heirs. The cause, if not the justification, of this astonishing bequeathal may no doubt be traced to the attitude of his widowed daughter, Lady Guilford, and of Sir Francis and Lady Burdett to the wife of his old age. That it was a deliberate act and that a complete if late reversal of that attitude did not affect his resolves, may be proved from the following letters to his wife and to his lawyer. The first letter to his wife is undated, but may have been written in 1818, when he made his first will in her favour. The second letter is to his lawyer, dated Salt Hill, May 3rd, 1820. The "fresh deed" which he requested might be drawn up, was executed May 1820.

Thomas Coutts to his Wife.

[Undated—? 1818].

My Dearest Love,

You too well know the misery I have suffered from my children not being easy and happy with you (at times), as I am very sure they would all have been most completely, had they not unfortunately taken a very wrong and mistaken view of your conduct towards me, and your feelings towards them, which have all been of the most disinterested and generous kind, dictated by the kindest affection and love of a heart in which there was never anything but goodness. I have often thought, as in the course of things long after me it is natural to suppose you will remain in this earthly life of trial and preparation for a better, that it is possible (though I flatter myself it will never happen) that they

may not behave to you with the kindness and affection that you are so well entitled to from every connection of mine. I, therefore, write this as I know you have made your will, and left in succession to my grandchildren all your estates and property to say it is my wish and desire and request that you will alter that destination and leave the whole in any other line you please, in case they should adopt a conduct so extremely contrary to my mind, but which I flatter myself will never happen, my most beloved wife!

My heart and soul is ever with you, and has ever been proud of you, my dearest Harriot: your conduct and affectionate constancy, two principles inspired from Heaven and which have been born with you, have made me the happiest and a much more religious and a better man than I ever was before. I am very sure it has really opened to me the happy view of a happy hereafter, when I trust in Heaven we shall all meet.

T. COUTTS.

"To my dearest Harriot Coutts."

Copy of a Letter to John Parkinson, Esqre., Lincolns Inn Fields

SALT HILL, *3rd May* 1820.

MY DEAR SIR,

I think it was about two years since I executed a final settlement of all my worldly concerns by giving all I might possess, or that hereafter I might acquire or be entitled to at my death, wholly and solely to my dear wife—irrevocably—and I hope she would have succeeded accordingly, had the accident I am now happily recovered from proved fatal, as it might and, as I believe, was by many supposed it certainly would. But somehow I feel rather uneasy lest the deed I allude to should prove insufficient, and, therefore, my eager wish is, whether my apprehension proves just or imaginary, to execute a new deed giving in the most clear and full manner everything real or personal or that I may in any way succeed to, or acquire from this day to the last of my life to my dearest wife, solely and entirely, and requesting she will receive

the same as justly belonging to her, and not to regard any aspersion that may in any shape be laid upon me as having hereby done any injustice to my children, who I amply provided for, by giving to each twenty-five thousand pounds on their marriage, and, also, settled on each twenty thousand pounds, besides many gifts of various kinds at different times. I know well my wife's uncommon liberality and desire to serve my children and all connected with me, and I do not disapprove thereof; on the contrary it delights me extremely, providing she does not exceed the bounds of moderation, which I beg her attention to as my last and most affectionate request. I hope they will all be most kind to her when I am no more, and that my wife may reward them according to their deserts, but not by any means beyond the same.

I feel and fancy this letter might be admitted as a will, but, as I rather choose it should be more formal and according to law, I beg you will do me the favour as soon as possible to draw it up and bring it down here, with your own proper witnesses, that I may execute it and put my mind at ease with the least possible delay.

I have been forbidden attending to any sort of business and also from writing letters of any kind, and I have steadily adhered to the direction of my physicians, with the exception of this letter to you and two very short ones to my daughter Lady Bute, now on her journey to England.

You must excuse all my blunders, but always believe me, most sincerely, ever yours,

(Signed) T. Coutts.

This Copy Mr Goodwin was so good to make by my desire of my Letter to Mr Parkinson.

Thomas Coutts.

It is evident from the tenour of both these documents that although Coutts had determined to leave to his widow the absolute control of his property, he expected and wished her, as she pleased and his children deserved, to make them the objects of her benevolence. Whether and in what terms

she intimated this conditional and guarded proposal to her husband's family before the will was proved, is uncertain, but it is a fact that in 1822, the year of his death, a sum of thirty thousand pounds was divided in equal portions between his three daughters, Lady Guilford, Lady Bute and Lady Burdett. A tenth of the sum total was derived from various investments which had been promised or bestowed on his daughters in their father's lifetime, and the remaining £27,000 was a voluntary gift on the part of Mrs Coutts. For how long these annual payments were made I am unable to say, for the official record, engrossed in a super-clerkly script, does not go beyond 1826; but in 1824, two years after her husband's death, out of a gross income of £52,946, 13s. 2d., a sum of £29,394, 16s. 10d. was disbursed to "the Ladies"; whilst out of a net income of £23,551, 16s. she spent £21,685 on herself and "saved" *only* a paltry residue of £1866. There is something pathetic in this half-reproachful "only." My impression is that these allowances were continued on much the same scale down to the year 1831. In that year for some unexplained reason (perhaps the Reform Bill had cast its shadows before) the share of Bank profits which should have fallen to the Duchess of St Albans dropped by over fifteen thousand pounds, with the result that she either very greatly reduced or withdrew the allowances altogether. Lady Guilford and Lady Bute received the announcement of this curtailment with cold acquiescence—their father's money had been left to her and she could do what she would with her own; but Sir Francis Burdett, in a letter dated July 14, 1831, assailed the Duchess with indignant reproaches and threatened to dispute his father-in-law's will—"That Mr Coutts was far from being quite self-possessed and of sound mind for several years previous to his death can be attested by his daughters as well as others. The last time I saw him at Holly Lodge he was quite beside himself—his head was quite gone, and he went rambling on for a long time in the

most incoherent manner, not in the least knowing where he was or whom he was speaking to. In short, it is beyond a doubt, and, Duchess, no one knows it so well as yourself, that Mr C. long before his death was in his second childhood, though it is true he gave signs of his naturally strong understanding."

The Duchess waited for five days, and then on July 19th her answer came. "I have not deserved the unkind letter you have sent me, Sir Francis Burdett. It gives me deep concern that one of Mr Coutts' family, to whom I felt nothing but kindness, should have expressed himself in such terms. I have delayed answering your letter in the hope that by this time you would have felt how cruelly unjust your accusation was, and that you would now, as you have done before, have acknowledged your error and unkindness; but as this is not the case, I write to you with a light and happy heart to assure you that if you really doubt the legality of Mr Coutts' will, as you say you do, nothing can be more joyful to me or so great a blessing as your putting into execution the threat of having it investigated; also I trust that my connection before and after my marriage with Mr Coutts, and my conduct to him and his Family will appear as clear and honourable in the eyes of man as I know and feel it does in the knowledge of God.

H. St Albans."

Once again Sir Francis "acknowledges his error"—"with my regrets and apologies." A conversation with Mr Dickie of the Bank had convinced him that the Duchess had both reason and excuse for staying her hand. He had written in haste and trusted that his letter might be passed over and forgotten. Of the intervening years I can give no account, but six years later, under a will dated March 14, 1837, Lady Burdett inherited a sum of twenty thousand pounds, "such sum being over and above the sums I have already given her, amounting to £118,602." Lady Bute died

in 1832, Lady Guilford in 1837, but while they lived they had no doubt been treated at least as generously as their youngest sister.

Frail of body, sensitive and passionate in temperament, Coutts kept his hold on life to the last. Long journeys, visits to great country houses had come to an end, but there were changes of scene, excursions for health or pleasure to Brighton, to Salt Hill, in 1819 and 1820, and to Tunbridge Wells in 1821. There were great dinner parties with royal and noble guests, at Stratton Street, dinner parties and *fêtes champêtres* at Holly Lodge. As late as January 18th, 1822, there was a banquet to celebrate the eighth anniversary of that secret and imperfect marriage ceremony at old St Pancras Church in 1815. Within a few months of his death he was transacting business, arranging the time and terms of a loan to one of his "titled constituents." He seems to have written his own invitations, and to have made up his own dinner parties. Here is a letter to Lord Darnley of Cobham, dated "Tunbridge Wells, June 21st, 1821," which tells its own tale. The handwriting is not what it once had been, but it is firm and clear enough.

My Dear Lord,

Prince Leopold has written to me here with an obliging proposal of dining with Mrs Coutts and me, and His Royal Highness the Duke of York has named the 16th of July as the first day he is at liberty. We hope it may also suit your Lordship and Lady Darnley, and any of her family to honour us at the same time. We think that Lady Guilford will be in England also, and our party probably be numerous.

I ever remain, my dear Lord,
Your most affectionate and most
obedient servant,
Thomas Coutts.

Prince Leopold, the husband of the lamented Princess Charlotte, the "Uncle Leopold" of Queen Victoria, was

one of those many Princes who obligingly put their trust in Thomas Coutts, whatever he may have whispered to his pillow as to *his* trust in *them* with regard to balances and overdrafts. The old banker's cousin and great-nephew, Sir John James Stuart, the last of the Stuarts of Allanbank, in a letter dated Portobello, September 22nd, 1819, writes to say that " I had yesterday the honour of a very agreeable interview with Prince Leopold . . . something led me to mention my connection with you, and while he expressed himself in the kindest manner and said how happy he was that you was so well at present, he spoke with great warmth of your kindness to him, and what comfort it was to have his affairs in your hands. . . . Scotland seems to interest Prince Leopold extremely; he said he was surprised that Mr Coutts had not come to see his native country. I replied I had used all my persuasion to induce you to come north. When I said that my property lay in Berwickshire, he instantly said, ' Ah, you are great farmers in that county ! ' in short, nothing seemed to escape him. . . . I think we could show him many interesting spots, even in the *low* lands, and I should not be ashamed of the banks of Blackadder, though we could give him but a homely reception." Allanbank was on the banks of the Blackadder, and here it was that some ninety years before John Coutts, long afterwards Lord Provost of Edinburgh, had come a-wooing. It was this earlier connection, his own descent from the Stuarts of Allanbank, rather than the fact that they were the children of his niece Fanny, that opened the heart and the purse of their great-uncle to Sir James and his sisters, Lilias and Sophia Stuart, and it was no doubt by his directions that they were in receipt of annuities during the lifetime of his widow, and after her death in accordance with the terms of her will.

If it be true that a man is known by his friends, the letters that his friends were in the habit of writing to him about their own affairs are a measure of their estimate of

his capability and his worth; and to judge from the letters of certain more or less distinguished friends who corresponded with Coutts in his extreme old age, he remained to the end a man whose opinion was worth having, who was in full possession of his faculties, and might be counted upon for sympathy and advice. Some of these letters are worth publishing on their own merits, but space precludes anything beyond a general summary and the selection of a few sentences of especial interest and import.

The first, if not the most interesting, of this group was William Adam, Lord Chief Commissioner of the Scottish Civil Jury Court, the founder of the Blair-Adam Club, the "Commie" of Sir Walter Scott's familiar correspondence. Apart from any old Edinburgh connection, he had been Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales, and would be known to Coutts as one of the Carlton House officials and retainers. "He was," says Scott (*Diary*, January 20, 1826), "in one point of view the most fortunate, in the other the most unfortunate man in the world. He has gained and lost two fortunes." It must have been the loss of a fortune to which he refers in a letter to Coutts, dated January 19th, 1820. He is forced to cut down expenses in all directions, to enable him to promote the interests of his sons and to make both ends meet at home. "I shall not," he writes, "be thought less a just judge because I walk to the seat of justice instead of being carried in a coach." But, bad as things were, he is pleased to think that "I have been able to give Lord Erskine [who had been paying a flying visit to Scotland] many little dinners with some of our eminent men in a comfortable and respectable way. . . . But why," he adds, "should I detain you with all this but that the especial and affectionate regard for years and years, and of Mrs Coutts, as long as I have known her, makes me sure you will enter into the feelings I have about my family?"

A month later, February 23, 1820, he writes to thank his "dear and good friend" for "asking my whole number

THOMAS LORD ERSKINE
From an oil painting by Sir W. C. Ross, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery

in London to your hospitable mansion. It was an act and a thought, at such a time, truly worthy of the benevolent, kind disposition of Mrs Coutts and yourself." He regrets that he cannot accept the invitation, for his chief motives would be "seeing you and paying my duty to the King, to whom I must ever feel devotedly attached. I am sorry he has had any rub in so sensitive a matter [the omission of the Queen's name from the State prayers]; I cannot help thinking that it has not been wisely conducted in some quarters." In 1820, if you belonged to the King's party, not only could the King do no wrong, but the Queen could do no right. Adam, though, as Sir Walter testifies, a "personal friend of the King, and the decided enemy of whatever strikes at the Constitutional rights of the Monarch," was more or less a Whig, and, like his old friend, seems to have thought that there might be two sides to the question. He signs himself "Your ever truly affectionate W. Adam."

Thomas, Lord Erskine, the friend and guest of the Chief Commissioner, was on terms of a still closer and more affectionate intimacy with Thomas Coutts and the *châtelaine* of Holly Lodge. He was a disappointed and a disappointing man. He recalls the saying, "Call no man happy till the day of his death." He had reached the height of fame and fortune, and then he lost hold and slipped back into something like failure. His contemporaries differ as to his merits. Crabb Robinson,[1] who had heard him at his best in a famous will case in 1791, speaks of his early admiration of "that wonderful creature who shared my love with Mrs Siddons"; whilst Sir Walter Scott, who admits that "he never saw him in his best days," says that "Tom Erskine was positively mad," and that his wit "was moody and muddish."[2] But "there was a cause!" Erskine had taken the Queen's part in the debates in the House of Lords, and when he was entertained at a public banquet in Edin-

[1] *Diary*, 1869, iii. 317.
[2] Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, 1838, vii. 190.

burgh, Scott refused to be present or to meet him. Hazlitt[1] puts down his success as an orator to "a dashing and graceful manner, his presence of mind, and his great animation in delivering his sentiments," but rates the matter of his speeches as "nothing, or perfectly inert and dead"; while Byron[2] sums him up as "good but intolerable—doing everything admirably, but looking round for applause and telling his old stories again and again." He was a man of lofty ideals and brilliant parts, but he was vain, and when the luck went against him, society avenged itself on his earlier success. Erskine and Coutts were third cousins, both being, through their mothers, fourth in descent from Sir James Stewart of Coltness and Kirkfield, and in the old days, when Harriot Mellon was still on the boards, he was a frequent guest at Stratton Street (see *Creevey Papers*, 1903, I. 209); but it was not till the end of his life, 1818-1822, that he became one of the little coterie, or court, which paid homage to old Coutts and his second wife. His health had broken down and he seems to have been put under the special care of the private physicians, Ruddiman, Andrews and Hooper, who discharged their perilous service of doctoring their aged patient to the satisfaction of his warm-hearted but hot-tempered "Guardian Angel." Coutts was a friend indeed. Lord Buchan endorses a letter from Coutts, dated Oct. 14, 1819: "My worthy friend, for his great regard to my brother, Lord E., bought from the Duke of York his annuity which was settled after the Queen's death."

"Counsellor Ego," as Erskine was nicknamed, shows to advantage in the playful, chatty notes in which he makes fun of his ailments, and promises that Ruddiman and Andrews should measure out his first allowance of "your claret," or advises the pulling up of tall spruce firs, and dead hollies, by the entrance gate of Holly Lodge. "You might as

[1] *Spirit of the Age*, 1825, p. 298. [2] *Letters*, 1904, v. 455.

well," he says, "have planted the fire-irons in all your apartments." Once or twice he writes as a statesman or politician on matters of national importance. Sir Edmund Antrobus (May 31, 1819) had written to him with regard to the commercial distress arising out of the resumption of cash payments, and his comment is worth quoting at the present time:—"I am of opinion that the expression of [distress] only and the panic under which it takes place, could be charged upon the proceedings with the bank. They are the consequences of a long and exhausting war to deliver other nations from calamities brought upon them by their own wickedness and folly, and who, by our still, if possible, *greater folly*, are now become our rivals for the trade of the world, discouraging our manufacturers and by the consent of our Parliament, passing in their *untaxed corn* to the ruin of the agricultural parts of our country. With regard to the Bank I do not apprehend *much mischief*. When it is seen by efflux of time that its credit (as I believe it to be) is unquestioned, so far from there being any *continued run* upon it, nobody will take their coin or more cumbrous bullion when they [can] carry away in a pocket-book more than most merchants are worth. But the real cause of the distress is a most serious one indeed, and can only be cured by a rigid system of economy and a long peace to enable us to practise it."

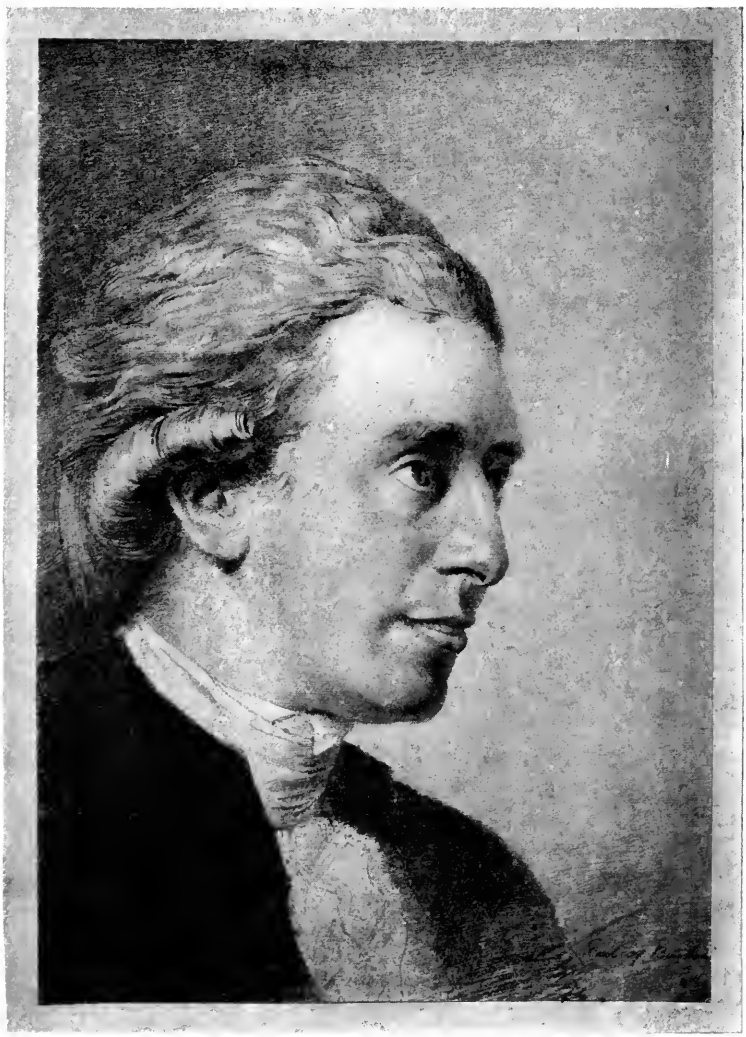
Mention has been made in an earlier chapter (ii. 186) of the indignation of the mob on the occasion of Queen Caroline's funeral. It would not have been in human nature if Erskine, who had been, but was no longer a courtier, had altogether held his peace, and in the postscript to a letter, dated August 16, 1821, perhaps the last he ever wrote to Coutts, he liberates his soul: "The ministers seem bent on doing everything they can to injure the King, their master, in the opinion of the public. Why, in God's name, should they have given *positive orders* that though the road to Harwich lay through the city, the remains of the Queen

(who could offend them no longer) should not be seen by the citizens of the capital, and that this unjust and disgraceful resolution should be persisted in at the expense of several lives and many distressing accidents to many innocent persons? They are certainly the worst as well as the weakest of men that ever were trusted to govern the country." That may have been so, but they *were* the King's Ministers, and they knew him whom they served.

Whilst Lord Erskine wrote often and gaily, his elder brother, Lord Buchan, wrote at long intervals and with the utmost solemnity to his "very dear friend and cousin" Thomas Coutts. He, too, seems to have got on the wrong side of Sir Walter Scott, who regarded his "immense vanity as bordering upon insanity," and dismissed him, with a *sort* of a sigh, as a "trumpery body."[1] Dryburgh House is but a few miles from Abbotsford, and it is possible that Sir Walter, who was himself the least assuming of mortals, may have resented the fussy patronage of his eccentric neighbour.

David Steuart, eleventh earl of Buchan, was of royal descent, and took a naturally inordinate pride in his "illustrious ancestors." In his father's lifetime, as Lord Cardross, he was offered and refused the post of Secretary to the Embassy to Spain, because his chief was a man of inferior rank to his own (a nice regard which Dr Johnson upheld "on point of dignity")[2] and in his old age, in his letters to Coutts, we "rather feel than see" that in "calling cousins" he is showing a kind of royal courtesy. But Scott admits that his penurious habits had their origin in a laudable endeavour to pay his father's debts out of a small income, and that his talents, though obscured by vanity, were "very considerable." He was an antiquary and a man of letters. He wrote, *inter alia*, a memoir of the poet

[1] *Life of Scott*, 1837, vii. 190.
[2] Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, 1876, p. 238.



DAVID STEWART, ELEVENTH EARL OF BUCHAN
From a crayon sketch in the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland

James Thomson,[1] and, in 1791, he instituted what would now be called an annual "Thomson day" in his honour. Crabb Robinson, who visited him at Dryburgh House in 1821,[2] was charmed by his *bonhomie*, and, despite his manifest pride in many of his ancestors, "whom my imperfect recollection would have designated rather as infamous than illustrious," was mollified by his liberal sentiments. "He was a staunch Whig." A letter of introduction to Scott was declined by the judicious Crabb, as "I found that he had no liking for Sir Walter, and I was therefore sure that Sir Walter had no liking for him." Another witness [3] may be quoted in his favour. He was anxious to obtain a medallion [4] of himself in porcelain, and appears to have consulted the historian William Roscoe with regard to the Liverpool China Works. Roscoe replies that "we happen to have a young artist who is very capable of superintending such an undertaking," and adds: "I rejoice to find that you still continue to employ yourself in municipal plans for preserving the remains of antiquity and the preservation of works of art."

As a letter-writer there is a curious contrast between the clearness of Lord Buchan's handwriting and the obscurity of some of his sentences. It seems that in the autumn of 1816, at his suggestion, though not, I imagine, at his expense, Coutts had sat for his *effigies* to J. J. Masquerion, to be hung on the walls of Dryburgh Abbey, close to the portrait of "Dr Armstrong and other excellent friends who are gone to

[1] In a letter to Rickman, dated Jan. 9th, 1802, Charles Lamb says that "George [Dyer] and my Lord of Buchan went on Thursday last to Richmond in the Long Coach to pay their devotions to the shrine of Thomson! George brought the mad Lord up to see me—I wasn't at home, but Mary was washing—a pretty pickle to receive an Earl in! Lord have mercy upon us! a Lord in my garret!"—*Life of Charles Lamb*, by E. V. Lucas, p. 224.

[2] *Diary*, 1869, ii. 208, 209.

[3] Copy of Letter from W. Roscoe to Lord Buchan, dated Liverpool, November 1, 1819.

[4] There is an earlier medallion of Lord Buchan, by James Tassie, dated 1773, in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery of Scotland, in Queen Street, Edinburgh.

a better world." He writes twice on this subject (October 21, 22, 1816), once to Coutts and once to his wife, whom he enjoined to do likewise, and to sit for a companion portrait. Both letters were placed in the hands of the Sultan Kattigerry[1] (*sic*), a "prince of great worth," whom he commends to the attention of his correspondents. Another letter, dated February 17, 1819, was in answer to a request from Coutts that he would vote at the forthcoming election of representative peers for the Earl of Stair, the son of the fifth Earl, the "Cassandra of the State," to whom so many of Coutts' letters were addressed. He had not attended at Holyrood House for more than twenty years, but he will not hesitate to give Coutts his vote, "for my cousin Stair, the head of a family from which I draw my Marra of Zerbino's Scottish captains and all illustrious ancestors of mine, so often set forth in genealogy, could from great name alone [have] been able to bestow on me a clear and discerning understanding." The Marra of Zerbino may, perhaps, be the Duca di Marra, or Earl of Mar, who is named in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, C. x., St. LXXXV., as one of the Scottish captains in the train of Zerbino. Zerbino, who plays a great part in the tenth and following cantos, was the son of the King of Scotland, an ancestor of King Robert the Second, who was an ancestor of Lord Buchan. He was an ideal prince :

> "Non è un si bello in tante altre persone
> Natura il fece, e poi ruppe la stampa." [2]

---

[1] The last sultan of the Crimea, Aleksei Ivanovitch Katti Gheri Krim Gheri, a Moslem, was converted to Christianity by the Scottish missionaries in the Caucasus. The Emperor sent him to Edinburgh to be educated, to preach his faith in Russia. He married, in September 1820, Miss Neilson of Millbank, and took her to Russia, but there, we are told, he made no converts." *Scottish Influences in Russian History* (Glasgow, 1913), by A. Francis Steuart, p. 135.

[2] Or, as Byron, in his monody, *conveyed* the metaphor :—

> "Long shall we seek his likeness—long in vain,
> And turn to all of him which may remain,
> Sighing that Nature formed but one such man,
> And broke the die—in moulding Sheridan."

An illustrious ancestor indeed! and Sir Walter, "the Ariosto of the North," should have been more respectful to so illustrious a progeny.

He was close upon eighty when he wrote (September 18, 1821) for the last time, to congratulate his "very dear friend and cousin on this [86th] anniversary of your birth." He also congratulated him on the happy condition of being attentively cared for in a domestic society by a "dutiful and affectionate wife." "We go to-day," he adds in a postscript, "to dine at Cowdenknowes with Professor Hume, when I shall have the pleasure of commemorating" —presumably the birthday. Professor James Home was Professor of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh. Scott, in his *Journal*, September 28, 1826, records a visit to Dr Hume (*sic*) at Cowdenknowes—"an ancient and curious house modernised by vile improvements."

Lord Buchan, who was born in 1742, outlived his cousin by seven years, but, like him, did not reach his eighty-seventh birthday. Among the papers seen and copied by Sir Edmund Marjoribanks is a kind of epitaph, or obituary notice, which he wrote on the back of one of Coutts' letters, dated Salt Hill, May 25, 1819. It is as just as it is kind, and stands to the credit of the praiser as well as the praised: "His life was one of great and useful exertion—he possessed a singularly clear judgment with a warm and affectionate heart. Few men ever enjoyed to the degree Mr Coutts did the confidence and esteem of his friends, or obtained, unaided by rank or political power, so much consideration and influence in society. The large fortune which he acquired was the consequence not the object of his active life, which at every period was devoted to the aid and advancement of those he loved." Here, at least, he gives proof of that "clear and discerning understanding" which he claims to have been bestowed by the "Marra of Zerbino."

Another friend of high rank, but of very different char-

acter, was Frederic William, Earl and afterwards Marquis of Bristol. Born in 1765, he was the contemporary and friend of Coutts' elder daughter, Lady Guilford, and of her sister Lady Bute. He had "titles manifold." He was F.R.S., F.S.A., LL.D., and, during the Addington Ministry, M.P. for Bury St Edmunds, and Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He was the son of a Bishop, the fighting and free-thinking Bishop of Derry, and the father of a Bishop, Lord Arthur Hervey, Bishop of Bath and Wells, whose "praise is in all the churches." He was the brother of Lady Elizabeth Foster, the adorer and successor of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, and of Lady Liverpool, the wife of the Tory Prime Minister; but, though he lived till he was close upon ninety years of age, his career was honourable rather than memorable. He was, however, a good friend to Thomas Coutts, and, to judge from his letters, a man of balanced judgment and a peacemaker. In 1813, when Coutts was broken down in health and spirits, Lord Bristol as companion, and afterwards as host, upheld and comforted him in his sorrow and perplexity. Then came the second marriage and the family quarrel, and when, as it seems, Coutts called upon him to arbitrate in his favour, he stands between daughter and father "rightly dividing the word of truth." The letter is undated, but may belong to the summer of 1815: "*The excess of your daughter's affection to you has produced the excess of sensibility and agitation*; and time *only* is wanting to allay that agitation, and to restore that heart to its natural state, which has been *devoted* to *you* for *her whole life*. You must, my dear Mr Coutts, be indulgent and patient. The pangs she has felt is not unnatural—recollect her affection to you and her mother; recollect how very recent was the loss of that parent, and how perfectly unprepared she was for the event which has taken place. You would scarcely have loved *your daughter less*, if she had felt less acutely upon this occasion. I am sure it would have proved that she

loved you little if she had not felt it deeply. . . . I agree with you, my dear Mr Coutts, that the laugh of the mere *World* is little to be regarded, but I think not the same of the opinion of the good and virtuous, and that your conduct should be ever *misinterpreted* by these has been to myself a sense of real pain and sorrow. . . . Of the object of your choice I have heard everything that is good; and, indeed, I should want no proof of her excellence but your deep regard for her; for if I am certain of anything in life, I am certain of this, that you could not love what is not valuable; but if you had married an Angel under all the circumstances of the case, I must have regretted it. Adieu, my dear Mr Coutts, and may you be happy! The frankness of my nature has induced me to express all my feelings. . . . I *would* not, *could* not write to you on such a subject and conceal a single feeling. I have closed my lips upon it for ever."

As time went on he became warmly attached to the "object" of his friend's choice, and after she became a widow, he wrote to offer her his sympathy and his assistance "in any difficulty in which you think I can be useful"; but when (in 1824) she had resolved to disinherit Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, because he had married a daughter of Lucien Bonaparte, and she refused to be reasoned with, he does not mince his words. "If you choose," he writes, "to exclude any subject of conversation, you have a perfect right to do so, but then we become mere acquaintances; friendship on such terms no human being shall ever have from me. With respect to Dudley, he may or may not have forfeited by his conduct the claims he had on your protection. On this part of the case I gave no opinion; all I said was that the *name* of his wife, if there existed no other grounds, *could not justify you in visiting* upon him the severe punishment you threatened. . . . You must know that Dudley's choice is a matter of deep regret to me, and that for special reasons, but disappointment and regret

shall not make me unjust." It is to be feared that Mrs Coutts, who imagined that the marriage of her husband's grandson with the niece of the "Corsican tyrant" would reflect on her own patriotism, did not relent, but that Lord Dudley was doubly punished for a marriage which "for special reasons" was, indeed, a *mésalliance*. But the loss of his inheritance did not prevent him from devoting his life to a noble cause, the vindication and protection of the Poles. It is interesting to note that, according to the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1855, I. 79, 81), "his education was superintended by his mother (Fanny, Marchioness of Bute, born Coutts) and that it was from her word and example that he acquired his strong feelings of sympathy for the oppressed." Edward Sterling, in his *Old Drury Lane* (1881, ii., 98-9) tells the story that when the actor Frederick Yates brought out a play at the Adelphi, called "The Burning of Moscow, or the Liberation of Poland," the Duchess of St Albans, who was in her box on the first night, speedily quitted it in a towering passion. "Yates! Yates!" she exclaimed, "why did you bring me here? I have enough of the Poles at home. Curse the Poles! they will haunt me to my grave." If there is any truth in the story, it may be that "a grain of conscience made her sour."

At Bury St Edmunds, some three miles from Lord Bristol's magnificent seat at Ickworth Park, lived an old acquaintance of Thomas Coutts, William, better known as "Gentleman" Smith. In 1818, the date of his first letter, he was close upon ninety years of age, and though he retained his youthful spirits, his mode of speech, his wit, his ancedotes recalled a vanished world. He was the son of a wholesale grocer and tea dealer, who had sent him to Eton and Cambridge, but had failed in business and left him to make his own living on the stage. For twenty years he played at Covent Garden, at first under Spranger Barry, who had trained and brought him out, and after a short period of retirement

he was attached to Garrick's Company at Drury Lane. He appeared for the last time as Charles Surface, his greatest and most successful impersonation, in 1788. Possessed of a marvellous memory, he attained distinction if not eminence both in tragedy and in comedy. His first wife, the Hon. Elizabeth Kelland Courtenay, widow of a son of Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, was a daughter of Viscount Hinchinbroke, and sister to John Montagu, the fourth Earl of Sandwich, the notorious " Jimmy Twitcher," " the man born for the destruction of the British Navy." His second wife, who was living at Bury at this time, and who brought him money, was of humbler origin. He was well off, for he had made and saved a substantial fortune, but he was old, and in failing health, and Coutts and his good-natured wife, perhaps for the sake of " Old Drury," solaced him with presents of fish and game and oysters, and with bottles of rare and expensive cordials.

In the last eighteen months of his life he wrote some twenty letters to Coutts, mainly of thanks and compliments in return for those delicacies, and, by way of seasoning, lets slip some recollections of the greater world in which he had lived, with some plaintive comparisons betwixt now and then.

He is greatly exercised by the decline and approaching fall of his former theatre. " We have outlived the prosperity of Old Drury, and the fall is melancholy." " Mr Colman, a *good man*; but can he raise the dead or the cash? No! I fear Old Drury must say—*Fuimus*." " That Old Drury should droop and die affects me much, yet the continued puffs and praises of actors, etc., have made me *totally indifferent* about them; in short, all idea of them, but the school of Garrick and his day, is obliterated." He speaks, however (October 28, 1818), more hopefully and with a qualified appreciation of a young actress, Miss Eliza O'Neill, who was soon to retire from the stage on her marriage with Mr William (afterwards Sir William) Becher. " Miss

O'Neill has been here—played Thursday in London, travelled all night, played 'Juliet' here on Friday, 'Belvidera' on Saturday, returned to town on Sunday, and played in Covent Garden on Monday. How physical strength could support such exertions I am astonished. I was cramped by severe lumbago when she was here, or would have waited on her, but could not stir. Several courteous compliments passed betwixt us, but we could not meet. The lady received £150 for the two nights and was admired extremely." A week later this strenuous and highly-paid young lady had flown back from town to the provinces. On November 5 Smith writes again: "I yesterday had the pleasure of waiting on Miss O'Neill, and was charmed with the sweet *serenity* and *simplicity* of true beauty without *dazzling* charms. She said her brother spoke of you and Mrs Coutts as all must who know you. She had played Mrs Haller, and Mrs Beverley, and takes her benefit to-night from *The Jealous Wife*—universally and greatly admired and *amply* paid.[1] Whether this derogates from her *dignity* I leave to the opinion of others, but I own taking a *Benefit* in a country town to *me* appears *woefully degrading*." Those who remember Lady Becher in her old age can bear witness to the felicity of this description. She preserved to the close of her life that "serenity and simplicity of true beauty" which compelled the admiration of the last of "the school of Garrick."

Acting was Gentleman Smith's profession, but fox-hunting and the turf were his recreations, and to the very last he would hire a post-chaise and drive over to Newmarket. Once (September 30, 1818) he found the course forsaken. "No sport, no company," though the Grand Duke Michael was there in the Regent's carriage with royal liveries, etc., "but the rooms, coffee house, town, were quite empty." A

[1] Belvidera in Congreve's *Mourning Bride*, Mrs Haller in Kotzebue's *Stranger*, and Mrs Oakly in George Colman's *Jealous Wife* were leading parts which had been associated with Mrs Siddons.

fortnight later, and Newmarket witnessed another sight. "The old Queen lay a-dying, but none the less there was more company than ever; the scene, spirit and gaiety most conspicuous." "Vive la bagatelle!" he exclaims. "All the world says Vive! I was six hours in my chaise, returned safe and sound, but have hints in my loins to-day from lumbago, which tell me I have more weakness than wit, and less strength than sense. *Lusi satis!*" And that was why a week later he could not call, or, as he would have said, "wait" on Miss O'Neill. But all was not lost, for the papers had honoured him with a paragraph, "the case when Great Men appear in public!" It is pleasant to be remembered "when we are old." He was gratified by the kindness and condescension of a note from Lord Erskine —no small gratification—*laudari a laudato*; and he records with modest pride the still greater honour that Sir George Beaumont "had commissioned the ingenious Mr Jackson of Newman Street to come over to Bury to take my portrait." On the other hand, he is mortified by the sight of Sir Thomas, once Tommy Tyrwhitt, who must have passed his door on his way to the Duke of Norfolk at Fornham St Genevieve. He had known his father and introduced him to Colonel Fitzpatrick at the Whig Club, but "new-made honours have slight memories—so goes the world. . . . Enough of Sir Thomas!"

But perhaps he is most amusing in his comments on three generations of the Townshend family. Before he went on the stage, when he was "a buck of bucks" about town, "the Hon. George (afterwards first Marquis) Townshend was the most intimate and nearest friend I had on earth—so much so that when he courted Lord Northampton's daughter, I, like wicked Cassio, went a-wooing with him. He was a great wit, a soldier and a perfect gentleman." But after the change in his father's affairs and he had to go on the stage to shelter himself and his family from penury, "My Lord dropped me for this dereliction of equality,

though continued his courtly courtesy (but nothing else) till his death." But this did not end his connection with the family, for a quarter of a century later, the second son of the Marquis, Lord John Townshend, married a Miss Georgiana Anne Poyntz, a granddaughter of Mr Smith's first wife by her first husband, Kelland Courtenay. "Of him," he writes, "I now know nothing except that he is a great farmer at Balls, near Hertford. He was a friend of Sheridan's, a brilliant wit, and of high gallantry and occasionally 'may have borrowed a little of your morality, Joseph' (*School for Scandal*, Act IV., Scene 3). Formerly he had corresponded with him and *could* and *did* serve him or at least his son (since dead) at St John's College, Cambridge, who was a brilliant young nobleman and would have made a striking figure in the world had he lived. I have the best copy of Latin verses, which he sent me from St John's, that were ever penned by a young man—on his taking leave of his school-fellows." Now this grandson of his old friend the first Marquis, was Charles Fox Townshend (1795-1817), "the founder of the Eton Society commonly called Pop."

The correspondence which "Gentleman Smith" had with Lord John Townshend was, no doubt, concerning his wife's granddaughter, Georgiana Anne Poyntz. She had married a Mr William Fawkener, and after a year and six months had eloped with the Hon. John Townshend. Fawkener divorced her and Townshend married her in 1787. Hence the allusion to "Joseph's morality," which Charles Surface feared he might borrow "if a pretty woman on purpose were to throw herself in my way, and the pretty woman married the man old enough to be her father."

But it had all happened a long time ago, and Coutts in his answer to Smith must have put in a plea for Lady John Townshend. "As to my granddaughter," he rejoins, "your heart is so full of candour and kindness as to allow for all unfortunate errors,

'When weak women go astray,
Their stars are more in fault than they;'

so I am sure I am the last man on earth to arraign the frailties of others, having been a most notorious delinquent in those cases which are almost too notorious to be forgotten and too flagrant to be pardoned. 'Try what repentance can—what can it not?' (*Hamlet*)." For was there not that trip to Paris to the beautiful Mrs Hartley, the "Bacchante" of Reynolds and Bartolozzi, and, no doubt, other slips and delinquencies which might be quoted against him?

His last letter in his own hand-writing is dated February 2, 1819, but he lingered till the autumn of that year. Early in 1820 his widow wrote to her husband's old friend to carry out a dying bequest. He had said to her, nearly at the last, "Martha, I wonder if good Mr Coutts had a mourning ring of Garrick. If he had not, I wish he should have that ring I received after attending the funeral." Garrick had been dead more than forty years, but the last of the "Old Actors" could not have bequeathed a better memorial to his old friend and patron, to whom Foote, and Barry and Garrick were not only great names, but living memories of his prime.

Another friend, or, as Mrs Barron-Wilson has it, "patronised guest," was the Swiss painter Johann Heinrich Fuessli, who called himself Henry Fuseli. The friend and contemporary (1741-1825) of Lavater, with whom he had studied at Zurich and at Berlin, he came to London in 1763 to perfect his knowledge of English Literature, and to earn his living as author and journalist. He brought with him, says Allan Cunningham, "common," that is, I suppose general letters of credit to Coutts, and introductions to Johnson of St Paul's Churchyard, and other booksellers. As a writer he was befriended by the poet-physician John Armstrong, and it is probable that his intimacy with Coutts was due to Armstrong's interest and intervention. From literary hack-work, in which he had been moderately

successful, he was diverted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, who praised his sketches and urged him to devote himself to art. So encouraged, he turned his back upon the booksellers, and, in company with Armstrong, he set out for Italy and commenced art student at Rome. "He fulfilled," says Cunningham, "the injunctions of Reynolds. He ate and drank and slept and waked upon Michael Angelo. He lived in a species of intoxication, affected the dress and mimicked the manner of Michael." He remained on the Continent for eight years, supporting himself as best he could on commissions from English visitors. After his return to England he quickly rose to eminence as an historical and allegorical painter, and as the illustrator of Shakespeare and Milton. Elected R.A. in 1790, on the death of Barry in 1799 he received the appointment of Professor of Painting, and in 1804 he was made Keeper of the Royal Academy, and, after 1810, by a special arrangement, he united both offices. He was a constant visitor at Holly Lodge and Stratton Street as long as Coutts lived, and before and after his death at his daughter's villa at Putney Hill, and there, after a short illness, "watched over with the greatest solicitude by Lady Guilford and her accomplished daughter, Lady Susan North," he died, April 16, 1825. His portrait by Opie was presented to the National Portrait Gallery by Lady Guilford's grandson, the present Lord North.

Coutts was not a buyer of pictures other than portraits, or a patron of art, but he made an exception in favour of Fuseli, and left to his descendants a number of weird allegorical studies which exhibit the abundance and diversity of his artistic energies, but tend to depress rather than impress the imagination of a later and in some respects a better informed, or at least a more critical, age.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE END

"For though the day be ever so long,
At length the bell ringeth to evensong."

THOMAS COUTTS died on Sunday, February 24th, aged eighty-six years and five months. He had been failing in body and mind since the previous autumn. He could write a business letter as late as September 1821, but then, or soon after, his mental powers began to give way, and though more than once he began a letter to his daughter Fanny, he could neither direct his pen or express his thoughts. His wife, his daughters, Lady Guilford and Lady Burdett, and his grandchildren, including Lord Dudley Stuart, "the son of his second daughter, Lady Bute," who was in Italy, were gathered round his death-bed. So said the newspapers; but few who saw the paragraph could have guessed that she who was the Chief Mourner by right and custom was indeed the Chief Mourner of that sorrowful group. It is said that when her own time came, some fifteen years later, she begged to be taken back to Stratton Street, to die in the same room and on the same bed on which her husband had breathed his last. Well, she was an actress and had played many parts, but there was neither show nor pretence in this simple profession of "love returned for love."

There was a pompous funeral. "The hearse was drawn by six black horses, bearing on the palls the armorial escutcheons of the family. There were supporters with scarves, three mourning coaches with six horses, the carriage of

the deceased drawn by four black horses, followed by above forty noblemen and gentlemen's carriages, among which were those of Their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York, Clarence and Sussex, Lord Coventry, Cawdor, etc. The principal mourners were Lord Dudley Stuart and Sir Coutts Trotter."

The funeral procession left Stratton Street on Monday, March 4th, on its way to the Parish Church of Wroxton, near Banbury. The first or second halt was " at the George Inn, Windsor, where a room hung with black and decorated with escutcheons had been prepared to receive the coffin." . . . At last, on the fifth day, the procession, or a part of it, reached its destination, and the coffin was laid in the family vault of the Earl of Guilford, alongside the remains of his first wife and his little grandson, Frederick Augustus, Lord North.

Then, or soon afterwards, a plain marble tablet was fixed to the wall of the Chancel in memory of Thomas Coutts; but it was not till she had " lain for a century dead " that the present Lord Latymer (then Mr Francis Coutts) erected a second tablet to record the birth and death of his great-grandmother, Susannah Coutts. It bears this legend: " *Quod habuit hæc fecit* "—" She hath done what she could."

Thomas Coutts was a patron of the stage, a lover and reader of Shakespeare, a subscriber to such huge *éditions de luxe* as Macklin's *Bible*, Boydell's *Shakespeare*, and Bowyer's edition of Hume's *History of England*, in ten volumes folio, but he had no so-called literary tastes, and seldom concerned himself with the lives or fortunes of poets or men of letters. In his early manhood he was an intimate friend of John Armstrong, the author of the *Art of Preserving Health*, and, so it is stated, " by his zeal and exertions was . . . instrumental in dispelling the vapours that has congregated round the name of Thomson " [1] He once very

[1] *Life, etc.* (1822), p. 5. In 1770 Coutts subscribed to a monument to Thomson.

generously befriended the actor and dramatist, Arthur Murphy, who had fallen on evil times and was prepared to pledge his library in return for a draft of three hundred pounds. "Mr Coutts told him that he had no time for books," but advanced the money and forewent the pledge. Murphy was "overcome by his feelings," and, "as some return to Mr Coutts," prefixed to his *Life of Garrick* (1801) a dedication in the form of a letter which might have been composed in his more inspired moments by Mr Wilkins Micawber. Afterwards, in 1813, when Pye was no more, and the Laureateship was vacant, Coutts, with many apologies, ventured to lay before the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, "the name of Robert Bradstreet, Esq., a gentleman of some estate in this county (he is writing from Ickworth in Suffolk), of great learning and very eminent reputation as a Poet. He is the author of many detached poems of great merit, and is allowed to be hardly inferior in versification to any of the best English Poets. . . . He is a very modest man," and so, too, was his champion, who would on no account wish to claim to be the "smallest judge of the qualities required for the place in question."[1] Mr Bradstreet, the author of *A Sabine Farm* (1810), was, we may suppose, a neighbour of Lord Bristol's, and, being possessed of "some estate," might have done as well as Pye, but merit, "damned merit," as Lord Melbourne once put it, was coming into fashion, and Robert Southey was preferred before Robert Bradstreet.

Coutts was kind and generous to artists. I have already spoken of his appreciation both of the genius and the society of Fuseli. Sir Thomas Lawrence, who earned much, but spent more, he helped at least on two occasions when the great painter was suffering from the penalty of his own extravagance, and more than once he forgave the whole of the debt. Haydon, to whom he had made an advance to enable him to get his great picture (*Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*)

[1] *Record of my Life*, by John Taylor, 1832, p. 198.

done during the summer months, begs (Oct. 12, 1818) for one more year in which to repay both principal and interest, and breaks forth into singing when he is released from his obligation. "It is impossible, dear Sir," he writes (Oct. 17, 1818), "to express my feelings to you for your kindness and assent. My mind is relieved from a great burthen that weighed it down like the load on the back of Christian in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, for there is no agony like that agony of being conscious of the rectitude and honour of your principles, yet prevented from proving them to others by actual performance in consequence of unexpected calamity. . . . My health is improving, and I know it will please you to be assured that your letter has not a little contributed to it—indeed, I cannot express to you what I feel, and I am sure my finishing my Picture will be the best return I can make for the nobleness of your conduct." It was no great matter to old Coutts, and it was all the world to Haydon, and yet both the kindness of the giver and the gratitude of the receiver "smell sweet, and blossom in the dust."

Coutts was not a wit himself or the cause of wit in others. There are, indeed, two or three anecdotes, "duplications," in the argot of the Higher Criticism of the same legend, which turn upon the piquant incongruity of his garb with his gear. He is dressed in a threadbare coat, "the costume of a decayed gentleman," and a benevolent stranger of limited means presses a guinea into his hand, and then to his dismay learns that he has "pouched" the wealthiest man in England. It may have been so. A dean once complained to the present writer that he was often mistaken for the verger, and offered a shilling for his services as guide to the Cathedral. It is possible that before the days of Harriot Mellon, Coutts was sometimes "attired in very faded, worn-out clothes," but his wardrobe, which his widow preserved in camphor, was, like Alice Fell's new cloak, as stout and "warm as man can sell." A select

THOMAS COUTTS
From a statue by Sir F. L. Chantrey, now in the possession of Messrs. Coutts & Co.

portion is preserved at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and may be inspected by the curious. He had, too, some five or six "Brutus" wigs, which were of the finest make and the costliest description. Even if these legends are founded on fact, they are hardly worth the re-telling.

"Who would has heard Sordello's story told." His life, save for his two marriages, was uneventful, and the fact that an "eminent banker," a hard-headed man of business who might have married above his station, not once but twice descended a step in choosing a wife, though it makes for romance, hardly accounts for the general interest in his personality and his career. He accumulated a vast fortune by a lifelong attention to business, by knowing how to be complaisant and how and when to assert his independence in dealing with great and noble personages, by the judicious floating of Government loans, and, above all, by living within his means; but other great bankers who have done likewise have made a fortune without making a name. There must have been a quality in his nature, a peculiarity and an intensity of the will which gives to one man out of ten thousand a kind of introduction to posterity. His statue by Chantrey, a seated figure, which was once in the possession of the Baroness Burdett Coutts, has been placed at the entrance of the new Bank premises on the north side of the Strand. The face, which is marked by an almost feminine refinement, is of one who thought before he spoke, and then spoke only once. The man who could command that air of calm detachment was the master of his fate.

Harriot Coutts, now the sole possessor of her husband's wealth and a partner in the Bank, remained a widow for five years. At length, after some hesitation, she consented to marry William Aubrey de Vere, ninth Duke of St Albans, who was born March 25, 1801, and must have been nearly a quarter of a century younger than herself.

In 1825, when the Duke began to press his suit, she made

Sir Walter Scott her confidant, and under date November 25 he wisely and wittily sums up the situation: "If the Duke marries her, he ensures an immense fortune; if she marries him, she has the first rank. If he marries a woman older than himself by twenty years, she marries a man younger in wit by twenty degrees. I do not think he will dilapidate her fortune—he seems quiet and gentle. I do not think that she will abuse his softness—of disposition, shall we say, or of heart? The disparity of ages concerns no one but themselves; so they have my consent to marry if they can get each other's."[1] This must have been written the year after the celebrated visit of Mrs Coutts "with all her retinue," including the Duke of St Albans, to Abbotsford, when Sir Walter Scott reproved the fine ladies who made up the house party for "tipping the cold shoulder"[2] to his good-natured if impossible guest, who was expected, and whom they had consented to meet. As Mr Pearce rightly insists (*The Jolly Duchess*, 1915, p. 242), Lockhart confuses two visits, the first in 1824,[3] when, as she afterwards said, "those horrible women were there," and a second in 1825, when she was accompanied by the Duke and his sisters and two physicians. In 1824 the Duke of St Albans was still Lord Burford. The correctness of the earlier date, as given by C. G. Leslie, is confirmed by the following documents which were preserved by the Duchess of St Albans, and are now published for the first time. The first is an undated note from Sir Walter Scott with reference to the proposed visit to Abbotsford. The "proper complication of folds" are still visible in the note as it was twisted by Sir Walter when it was "too early for a light." It was written August 30th, 1824. Lees, from which he dates, was the seat of Sir John Marjoribanks, Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

[1] *Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, 1891, p. 19.
[2] Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, 1838, vi. 97.
[3] *Memoirs of C. G. Leslie*, 1860, i. 86.

DOCUMENT I.

Sir W. Scott to Mrs Coutts.

MY DEAR MRS COUTTS,

That which we wish earnestly we are sometimes rather tiresome in trying to secure; so there is perhaps little [necessity] for my troubling you with a note to *remind* that we entertain the hope of seeing you with Miss Goddard and my friend Dr —— some time in the week after this which may be most convenient for you. We have plenty of room, such as it is, for your suite [illegible] in number [illegible] effective strength, not in the number of the *Morning Post.* When you honour me with any notice of your motions, my address is Abbotsford, Melrose, and the post leaves every ev. at five o'clock.

Much health and happiness from the land of cakes.

I remain, dear Madam,
Your most obedient and respectful,
W. S.

LEES, *Monday Ev.*

Too early for a light, must try to twist this note in the proper complication of folds.

DOCUMENT II.

Sir W. Scott to Mrs Coutts.

MY DEAR MRS COUTTS,

I am particularly happy to commit to record that I had this day the pleasure of introducing you to the antiquities of Melrose Abbey, which I hope have afforded you so much satisfaction as to tempt you to revisit them again.

With much respect,
Your most obedient humble servt,
WALTER SCOTT.

ABBOTSFORD,
10 *Sept.* 1824.

Document III.

Inscription on a tombstone in Melrose Churchyard.

THE EARTH GOETH ON THE EARTH GLITTERING LIKE GOLD
THE EARTH GOETH TO THE EARTH SOONER THAN IT WOLDE,
THE EARTH BUILDS ON THE EARTH CASTLES AND TOWERS,
THE EARTH SAYS TO THE EARTH "ALL SHALL BE OURS."

ABBOTSFORD,
Sept. 11, 1824.

Signed by HARRIOT COUTTS—"Written with Sir Walter Scott's *own pen*, sitting in his own Chair. How I shall be envy'd?"

Documents II. and III. speak for themselves, and show how anxious the kind host was to make things pleasant for his discomfited guest.

After the marriage had taken place the Duchess of St Albans wrote to thank Sir Walter for his kind congratulations (Sept. 16, 1827). The letter is printed in full as a note to the *Journal* (1891, p. 414), and is reprinted by Mr Pearce in *The Jolly Duchess* (p. 264).

One sentence which could not have been bettered and proves that the writer was of no common stuff must find a place at the close of this volume:—"What a strange, eventful life has mine been, from a poor little player-child, with just food and clothes to cover me, dependent on a very precarious profession, without talent or a friend in the world! 'to have seen what I have seen, seeing what I see.' Is it not wonderful? is it true? Can I believe it?—first the wife of the best, the most perfect being that ever breathed, his love and unbounded confidence in me, his immense fortune so honourably acquired by his own industry, all at my command—and now the wife of a Duke."

HARRIOT, DUCHESS OF ST. ALBANS
From a miniature in the possession of the Lord Latymer

There is a story in the *Seaforth Papers* that previous to her marriage to the Duke of St Albans Mrs Coutts asked the consent of King George the Fourth, and that the letter was delivered by her confidential clerk, Andrew Dickie. "'Well, Dickie,' said the King, 'you are the very last person I expected to see in the character of *le mercure galant*.' 'In what character, your Majesty?' quoth Dickie alarmed, and probably not understanding the words. 'Well,' resumed the King, 'the Duke of St Albans has greater powers than I; for, Dickie, I don't think I could possibly make you a Duke.' Delighted with so good a joke, he actually wrote to wish her joy with his own hand, which you know was all he could have done to the daughter of the first Duke about to marry the second." It is a fact that Mrs Coutts[1] had announced in courtly phrase and with a magnificent loyalty

[1] *Copy of Letter of Mrs Coutts to H.M. George IV., June* 13, 1827.

SIRE,

The condescending notice with which Your Majesty has always been pleased to honour me induces me to hope that I may venture to intrude on Your Majesty with a communication of deep interest to myself.

Permit me, Sire, humbly and dutifully to acquaint Your Majesty that arrangements have been finally made for my marriage with the Duke of St Albans on Saturday next. But as these arrangements were not completed till yesterday, I did not think it would be respectful to trouble Your Majesty with the occurrence before.

I have the honour to remain,
Sire,
With every sentiment of duty and grateful acknowledgment of
Your Majesty's untired kindness, Your Majesty's
Most dutiful and loyal subject and servant,
H. C.

H.M. King George IV. to Mrs Coutts.

MY DEAR MADAM,

Anything that can contribute to your happiness will always give me sincere Pleasure, and I beg to offer my congratulations to you and the Duke upon the occasion.

Your very sincere Friend,
G. R.

ROYAL LODGE,
June 14th, 1827.

her approaching alliance, and that the King replied with royal condescension and did not refuse his consent. But her letter was evidently drafted by her lawyer Parkinson, and the King, if he smiled to himself, addressed the future Duchess in formal and yet gracious terms.

Her story as widow, or "wife of a duke," does not belong to these volumes, but it is only just to her memory, and to that of the man who loved her for her own sake, to record the fact that she won and retained the good-will and esteem of so great and so good a man as Sir Walter Scott. Harriot, Duchess of St Albans died August 6, 1837.

FINIS

APPENDIX I

LIST OF PARTNERS SINCE 1761

	Entered the Partnership	
James Coutts		Retired 24th June, 1775.
Thomas Coutts	9th January, 1761.	Died, 1822.
Edmund Antrobus (became Sir Edmund, 1815)	23rd June, 1781.	Died, 1826.
John Antrobus	24th June, 1784.	Died April, 1794.
Coutts Trotter (became Sir Coutts, 1821)	8th April, 1793.	Died 1837.
Edward Marjoribanks	1797 (Ledger says 25th June, 1798.)	Died 1868.
Edmund Antrobus, Jr. (son of John Antrobus) (became Sir Edmund, 1826)	1816.	Died 1870.
Mrs Harriot Coutts, afterwards Duchess of St Albans	1822.	Died 1837.
Andrew Dickie	1827.	Died 1834.
William Matthew Coulthurst	1827.	Died 7th February, 1877.
Edward Marjoribanks, Jr.	1838.	Left 8th September, 1877. Died 12th April, 1879.
Hugh Lindsay Antrobus (Son of Sir Edmund)	1843.	Died 18th March, 1899.
Edmund Coulthurst (nephew of W. M. Coulthurst)	1857.	Left 31st December, 1877.
Hon. Henry Dudley Ryder (became 4th Earl of Harrowby 26th March, 1900)	1865.	Died 11th December, 1900.
George Robinson	1869.	Died 27th September, 1886.
Lord Archibald Campbell	1873.	Retired 29th May, 1907. Died 29th March, 1913.
George John Marjoribanks	1877.	

LIST OF PARTNERS—*continued.*

	Entered the Partnership.	
Robert Ruthven Pym	1st July, 1878.	Died 17th January, 1894.
William Rolle Malcolm	1st July, 1878.	
Robert Lindsay Antrobus (nephew of H. L. Antrobus)	1st July, 1878.	Died 5th March, 1891.
John Herbert Dudley Ryder (became Viscount Sandon, 26th March, 1900, and 5th Earl of Harrowby, 11th December, 1900)	24th June, 1887.	

On the 24th June, 1892, the existing partnership was converted into a Company.

*Baroness Burdett Coutts	24th June, 1892.	Died 31st December, 1906.
FitzRoy James Wilberforce Farquhar	23rd April, 1894.	Resigned 16th November, 1896.
*Hon. William Frederick Danvers Smith, now Viscount Hambleden	8th August, 1895.	
Ronald Malcolm	11th December, 1896.	
*Hugh Burdett Money Coutts	30th October, 1899.	
*Hon Archibald Dudley Ryder	30th March, 1901.	
*Hon. Edward A. Dudley Ryder	30th March, 1901.	
Frederick Walter Stephenson appointed Junior Managing Partner, 16th July, 1902	28th May, 1902.	
Charles Augustus Phillimore, appointed Junior Managing Partner, 26th January, 1904	10th September, 1903.	
*Hon. Robert N. Dudley Ryder	16th March, 1906.	
*Francis Coutts, now Lord Latymer	8th April, 1907.	
*Marquis of Bute and Dumfries	18th May, 1908.	
*John William Coulthurst	20th May, 1908.	
*John Bevill Fortescue	7th July, 1908.	

* Those marked with a star became stockholders without taking any active part in the business.

APPENDIX II

HOLIDAYS OF BANK CLERKS ABOUT THE YEAR 1775

MESSRS GLYN & Co.—After a service of three years, a fortnight each year—the Seniors have the priority of choice.

MESSRS HOARE'S.—Each one month every year, the time being arranged among themselves.

MESSRS ROBARTS & Co.—No fixed rule, about once in two years from a fortnight to a month.

MESSRS MASTERMAN & Co.—A fortnight every other year.

MESSRS BARCLAY & Co.—About once in three years, but quite uncertain—quite dependant on the pleasure of the partners.

MESSRS LUBBOCK & Co.—No settled rule—at the discretion of the firm.

MESSRS DRUMMOND'S.—Each clerk a fortnight every year.

INDEX

A

Abbot, Speaker, on Burdett, ii. 263
Abbotsford, Sir Walter Scott at, ii. 378, 396, 397
Abercromby, Sir Ralph, at Suez, ii. 129
Aberdeen, Drummond M.P. for, i. 117
Abergavenny, T. C. at, i. 57, 163, 165, 194
Aboukir Bay, battle of, ii. 85, 105
Abuses in the Army, by Thomas Erskine, i. 75
Acre, Lady H. Stanhope on, ii. 351, 356
— Siege of, ii. 350
Adair, Mr, in Kinross-shire, i. 136
Adam Brothers, the, build the Adelphi, i. 43-6, 71 *note*
— their Adelphi lottery, i. 71 *note*, 72
Adam, William, his letters to T. C., ii. 374, 375
— his relations with Fox, i. 127; ii. 73
— T. C. on, i. 133; ii. 179
Adamant, H.M.S., ii. 95
Adams, John, witness of Coutts's marriage, i. 26
Addington, Prime Minister, ii. 382
— on the Gibraltar garrison, ii. 153, 155, 168; *see also* Lord Sidmouth
Addington, Anthony, physician, ii. 219 *note*
Addington Hills, the, i. 45
Adelaide, Queen, as Duchess of Clarence, ii. 159
— her marriage, ii. 182, 194
Adelphi Lottery, the, i. 71 *note*, 72
Adelphi Theatre, the, Duchess of St Albans at, ii. 384
Advice and Expostulation with the People, by the Earl of Stair, i. 67
Africa, West Coast of, i. 162 *note*
Age, The, articles on T. C. in, ii. 284-7
Aileway, Mrs, of Cheltenham, ii. 65-7
Ailsa, 1st Marquess of, his family connections, i. 80 *note*; ii. 11 *note*
Aix-la-Chapelle, T. C. and family at, i. 273, 287-9
Alban Hills, the, i. 273
Albany, Charlotte Stuart, Duchess of, her fortune, i. 273
— her legitimation, ii. 50
— her marriage, ii. 333
— her parentage, ii. 44, 47, 114
— her will, ii. 45, 128
— related to Colonel Crawfurd, i. 62
Albestroff, Comtesse d', her career, ii. 44-52
— her death, ii. 128
— Lady Bute on, ii. 333
— T. C.'s letters to, i. 26 *note*; ii. 7 *note*, 27, 44-54, 67-9, 79, 85, 94, 105, 109, 111, 113, 119, 132, 142
Alcibiades, Burdett compared with, ii. 126
Alden Hall, Bedfordshire, i. 33
Aleppo, Barker, Consul at, ii. 350
Alexandria, Lady H. Stanhope at, ii. 348
— Napoleon at, ii. 105
Ali Bey, fall of, i. 29
Aliens Bill, the, ii. 75 *note*
All the Talents, Ministry of, i. 215 *note*
Allanbank, haunted by Pearlin Jane, i. 14 *note*
— home of the Stuart family, i. 10, 14-20, 43, 52, 55, 56, 62, 79, 112, 116, 117, 126, 138, 154, 200, 257, 271 *note*; ii. 373
— Thomas Coutts at, i. 20
Allanton House, Lanarkshire, i. 271 *note*; ii. 107 *note*

Almack's Club, i. 171
Almon, John, his journals, i. 123 and *note*
Amelia, Princess, her death, ii. 279
American War of Independence, expense of, i. 167; ii. 8, 42, 63
— French participation in, i. 102-4, 110; ii. 150
— outbreak of, i. 69 *note*, 74 *and note*, 76
— supported by the Earl of Stair, i. 66
— T. C. on, i. 74, 76, 79, 83, 84, 86, 88-90, 98, 110-40
— termination of, i. 148 *note*, 156, 159
American War of 1812-14, i. 75 *note*
Amiens, T. C. at, i. 274
Amondell, Henry Erskine of, i. 168 *note*
Amorbach, Bavaria, Duke of Kent at, ii. 159
Amsterdam, business at, i. 223
— Patrick Coutts trades with, i. 9
Amyand, Sir George, his daughters, i. 222 *note*
Anderson, Dr W. J., his *Life of Edward, Duke of Kent*, ii. 150, 151 *note*
André, Major John, execution of, i. 132 *note*
Andrews, Dr, attends Lord Erskine, ii. 376
Anecdotes of the Life of the Earl of Chatham, by Almon, i. 123 *note*
Anglesea, Marquis of, rides in the Park, ii. 188
Anglesey, T. C. in, ii. 31
Anglo-Saxon Review, The, letters by the Duchess of Devonshire in, ii, 206
Angus, Falconer of, i. 6 *note*
Annals of Ealing, by Edith Jackson, ii. 158 *note*
Annan, quicksands at, i. 191
Annual Register, on Burdett, ii. 269
— on Fox's India Bill, i. 170 *note*
— on the Marquess of Bute, i. 142
— on the trial of Queen Caroline, ii. 187
— quoted, i. 71 *note*; ii. 53 *note*, 116
Annuities, Fox's scheme of, i. 208-10, 215, 217, 244
Anspach, Elizabeth, Margravine of, T. C. on, ii. 100, 101
Anstruther, Sir John, in India, ii. 108
Antiquary, The, by Sir Walter Scott, quoted, i. 5, 8, 201 *note*
Antrim, Lissanour, i. 289
Antrobus, Sir Edmund, approaches Lord Newhaven with regard to Gatton, i. 141, 149
— buys a house for Capt. Starkie, i. 34
— consults Lord Erskine, ii. 377
— his ill-health, i. 202
— his partnership with T. C., i. 82-4, 86, 145, 201 *note*, 243, 285; ii. 25, 89, 90, 186, 202
— Pitt consults with, ii. 82, 89, 92
Antrobus, Sir Edmund (1792-1876), his partnership with Coutts & Co., i. 82 *note*, 201 *note*
Antrobus, Gibbs Crawford, his marriage, i. 201 *note*
Antrobus, John, his partnership with T. C., i. 201 *note*, 202, 285; ii. 16, 18, 25
Antrobus, Philip, broker, negotiates the Exchequer Bill business, ii. 89
Antrobus, Philip, of Congleton, i. 82 *note*
Apenzel, T. C. at, i. 255
Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the National Debt, Price's, i. 166 *note*
Arbroath, James Coutts imprisoned at, i. 8
Arcot, Nabob of, Macpherson, agent to, i. 191 *note*
Argyll, John Campbell, 5th Duke of, his daughter Caroline, i. 51, 69 *note*
— patron of John Campbell, banker, i. 36
— suitor of Clementina Walkinshaw, ii. 46
Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, ii. 380
Armagh, Stuart, Archbishop of, ii. 119
— at Worthing, ii. 257
Armstead, Mrs, in Paris, i. 263
— Fox's connection with, i. 208, 245
Armstrong, Dr John, attends John Coutts's baptism, i. 233
— befriends Fuseli, ii. 389, 390
— his *Art of Preserving Health*, i. 72 *note*; ii. 87, 392

Armstrong, Dr John, his friendship with T. C., i. 57, 172 *note*; ii. 392
— portrait of, ii. 379
— wins the Adelphi Lottery, i. 72
Armstrong, Thomas, Vicar of Brampton, ii. 286
Army, The, of England, ii. 99 *and note*
— its supplies, i. 175
— Duke of Kent's reforms of, ii. 147-58, 165, 167
Arnold, General Benedict, defection of, i. 125, 132
Arnold, manager of Drury Lane, ii. 289
Art of Preserving Health, The, by Dr Armstrong, i. 72 *note*; ii. 87, 392
Artois, Comte d', at Gibraltar, ii. 118
Ashburnham, Lord, in Paris, i. 264
Ashburton, John Dunning, Baron, his resolution *re* the influence of the Crown, i. 127 *note*
Ashington Common, ii. 257
Ashton, John, *A History of English Lotteries*, i. 71 *note*
Assheton, Mrs Mary, of Preston, i. 26
Asylum, The, edited by Almon, i. 123 *note*
As You Like It, Miss Mellon in, ii. 233, 319
Athens, Byron in, ii. 348
Atkins, Sheriff, his support of Burdett, ii. 266
Auchinleck, i. 300
Auchinleck, Lord, on Cromwell, i. 248 *note*
Auchinames, Patrick Crawfurd of, i. 37, 77 *note*, 131 *note*
Auchtercoul, Colt family of, i. 4
Auckland, William Eden, 1st Lord, as Commissioner, i. 103 *note*
— his Bill against re-marriage, ii. 75
— his letters to T.C., i. 285
— ignores Burdett, ii. 121
— *Journals and Correspondence*, ii. 76 *note*
Auckland, Lady, her correspondents, i. 32 *note*
Augsburg, T. C. at, i. 270, 286, 287
Austria, abandons siege of Belgrade, i. 247
Austria, its relations with England, ii. 8 *note*
— joins in the war against France, ii. 57, 81
— joins the Quadruple Alliance, i. 232
— Joseph, Emperor of, i. 172 *note*
— makes a separate peace, ii. 98
— supports the French Monarchy, ii. 24
Auxerre, birth of Chénard at, i. 236 *note*
Aylesbury, Lord, at Brighton, ii. 186
Ayr, John Crawford, M.P. for, i. 77 *note*
— Lieutenant Hall at, ii. 143
Ayr Bank, the, its failure, i. 75 *note*, 77, 84, 131
Ayrshire, contested by John Crawford, i. 159, 173, 177, 179, 275

B

Baader, Professor, attends Fanny Coutts, i. 286
Badham, Mr, i. 243
Bailie, John, friend of Caleb Whitefoord, i. 22
Baillie, Alexander, pictures by, i. 10 *note*
Baillie, Colonel, at Conjeveram, i. 167 *note*
Baillie, Dr, attends Queen Caroline, ii. 198
— attends Sir F. Burdett, ii. 224
Baillie, fruiterer, i. 205
Baillie, George, stands for Parliament, i. 258
Baillie, Lady Grizel, her descendant, ii. 347
Balfour, Mr, at Worthing, ii. 258
Balfour, Rachel, wife of Patrick Coutts, i. 9
Ball, Sir Alexander, Coleridge secretary to, ii. 348
Balls, Hertford, Lord John Townshend of, ii. 388
Ballymoney, Lissanour near, i. 290
Baltic, British fleet in the, ii. 8 *note*, 129
Banbury, Wroxton, near, ii. 311, 392

Bank of England, the, ii. 101, 213
— subscribes to the Loyalty Loan, ii. 62
— suspends cash payments, ii. 75, 85
Bank of Scotland, the, Colonel Crawfurd a client of, i. 118
— T. C. as agent for, ii. 89
Bankes, William John, misrepresents Lady H. Stanhope, ii. 356
Banking-houses, failure of county, ii. 59, 75
— in London in the seventeenth century, i. 36
— their fortunes in 1772, i. 49 *note*
Banks, Sir Joseph, Lady H. Stanhope's letter to, ii. 356 *note*
Bannockburn, Paterson of, ii. 45-7
Baratariana, Flood's attacks on Lord Townshend in, i. 71 *note*
Barcelona, Robert Herries at, i. 25
Barker, John, Consul-General at Aleppo, ii. 351, 353
Barnes, Mrs, sister-in-law of T. C., i. 26
Barnet horse fair, i. 220
Barnstaple, T. C. at, ii. 220
Barron-Wilson, Mrs Cornwell, *Memoirs of Harriot, Duchess of St Albans*, quoted, i. 27; ii. 183, 227-37, 238, 245, 287, 299 *note*, 311, 315, 321, 389
Barrow, John, *Travels in China*, i. 290 *note*
Barrowfield, Lady, her marriage, ii. 44 *note*
Barrowfield, Walkinshaw of, ii. 45
Barry, Anne Street, actress, ii. 96
Barry, James, R.A., his death, ii. 390
Barry, Spranger, manager of Covent Garden Theatre, ii. 96 *note*, 384, 389
Bartolozzi, Francesco, his portrait of the Duchess of Devonshire, ii. 206
— his prints of Mrs Hartley, ii. 389
Basevi, Miss, marries Isaac D'Israeli, i. 46 *note*
Basle, T. C. at, i. 255
Bath, death of John Coutts in, i. 17, 24
— John Crawford in, i. 177, 191
— C. J. Fox in, i. 281
— Lady Burdett in, ii. 63, 69
— Lady Bute in, ii. 333
Bath, Lord and Lady Guilford in, ii. 98, 99, 101
— Lady Hester Stanhope in, ii. 130
— Mr Marjoribanks in, i. 247
— Pitt in, ii. 129
— John, Lord Pitt, in, i. 98
— T. C. engages a singer from, ii. 185
— T. C. in, i. 56, 58, 81, 108, 126, 129, 130, 246; ii. 35, 68, 69, 71, 83, 87, 99, 101, 109, 197, 221, 222
— Whitefoord in, ii. 22
Bath and Wells, Beadon, Bishop of, ii. 116, 382
Bathurst, Bragge, Treasurer of the Navy, ii. 214
Bavaria, Electress of, her physician, i. 286
Beadon, brother of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, ii. 116
Bearne, Mrs, her *Four Fascinating Frenchwomen* quoted, i. 253 *note*
Beauchamp, Lord, his town house, ii. 35
Beaufort, Duke of, installed K.G., i. 203
Beaufort, M. de Salaberry, Seigneur de, Duke of Kent's relations with, ii. 149, 150
Beaufoy, Mr, his mortgage, ii. 168
Beaumont, Sir George, commissions Jackson, ii. 387
Beaurieu, Abbé, reads French with the Misses Coutts, i. 252, 266-9
Beauties of England and Wales, by E. Brayley, ii. 77
Beauvais, Abbaye Royal de, i. 252 *note*
Beazley, Mrs, T. C. writes to, ii. 249
Becher, Sir William, his marriage, ii. 385
Bedford, Duke of, his annuity, i. 97
Behar, Buxar in, i. 167 *note*
Belfast, saved by Elliot, i. 65
— William and Mary proclaimed in, i. 289
Belgrade, siege of, i. 247
Bell, Mr, T. C. votes for, ii. 308
Bellamont, Charles Coote, Lord, his duel with Lord Townshend, i. 71 *and note*
Belle's Stratagem, The, Miss Mellon acts in, ii. 233
Bellona, Elliot, Captain of the, i. 65

Belvoir, seat of the Dukes of Rutland, i. 175
Bengal, British power in, ii. 6
Benham, Mrs, actress, ii. 246 *note*
Berkeley, Augustus, 4th Earl of, his daughter, Lady Elizabeth, ii. 100 *note*
Berlin, Fuseli in, ii. 389
— 6th Earl of Stair in, i. 133 *note*
Bermuda, James Crawfurd, Governor of, i. 131 *note*
Bernardines, Order of, i. 252 *note*
Berne, English ministry in, i. 165
— T. C. at, i. 255
— Zeerleder of, ii. 68, 79, 94, 105, 109, 119, 132, 142
Berry, Miss, Walpole's letters to, ii. 71
Berthier, General, Minister of War, ii. 218
Bervie, Hallgreen, i. 7
Berwick, i. 196, 200
Berwickshire, election, 1780, i. 132
— Home M.P. for, i. 257
— Stuart property in, ii. 373
Beshyr, Emir, entertains Lady H. Stanhope, ii. 348-50, 352
Bessborough, Frederick Ponsonby, 3rd Earl of, his marriage, ii. 14 *note*, 63 *note*
Bessborough, Henrietta Frances, Countess of, her ill health, ii. 63
Bethlehem Hospital, Dr Monro physician to, i. 85 *note*
Bex, T. C. at, i. 255
Bibby, Thomas, his touring company, ii. 231, 232
Bickersteth, Henry, Lord Langdale, ii. 121, 124
Billie, Home of, i. 257
Billington, Mrs, singer, i. 242
Blackadder, the, i. 14; ii. 373
Blackadder, T. C. invited to, i. 138
Black Sea, Russian territory around, ii. 8 *note*
Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, i. 271 *note*
Blair, Sir James Hunter, his baronetcy, i. 203
— partner of the Edinburgh banking-house, i. 24
— remits the excise, i. 278, 279
Blair-Adam Club, the, ii. 374
Blanca, Florida, Spanish Minister, i. 287 *note*
Blanchard, aeronaut, i. 190
Blanchard, Mrs, actress, ii. 232
Bloomfield, Benjamin, Baron, Keeper of the privy purse, ii. 186, 189
Bloxam, innkeeper, Margate, i. 204
Blue coat boys, employed in a lottery, i. 71 *note*
Boaden, Samuel, his *Life of Mrs Jordan*, ii. 235
Bocking, Essex, i. 199 *note*
Bognor, ii. 295
Bolton, Marquis of Buckingham at, i. 199
Bolton-le-Moor, Entwisle of, ii. 230, 286
Bolton, Thomas Orde-Powlett, 1st Baron, his Irish bill, i. 196 *note*
Bombay, English forces in, ii. 129
Bonaparte, Lucien, his daughter's marriage, ii. 383
Bonkill, Sir John Stewart of, i. 271 *note*
Bonniton or Bonnington, barony of, i. 6 *note*
Book of Beauty, the, ii. 228 *note*
Book of Duchesses, A, by Alice E. Robbins, i. 30 *note*
Borgia, Cardinal Stefano, on the Cardinal of York, ii. 111, 112
Boroughbridge, Burdett M.P. for, ii. 126
Bossiney, Cornwall, Mountstuart M.P. for, ii. 116
Boston, Baron Manners of, i. 160 *note*
Boswell, Mr, at Allanbank, i. 155
— invites T. C. to Blackadder, i. 138
Boswell, James, his letters to T. C., i. 300
— his *Life of Johnson*, i. 142; ii. 378 *note*
— on Lord Mountstuart, ii. 116 *note*
Bouillon, Clementina Walkinshaw at, ii. 49
Boulogne, Charles Smith wine merchant at, ii. 44 *note*, 107 *note*
Bourbon, House of, desires peace, i. 102, 105
Bowyer's edition of Hume's *History of England*, ii. 392
Boydell's *Shakespeare*, ii. 392
Boyle, Lady Augusta, her marriage, ii, 197

Boyle's *Court Guide*, ii. 328 *note*
Brabantes, Dumouriez quarrels with the, ii. 21
Bradshaw M.P. for Harwich, i. 69
Bradstreet, Robert, candidate for laureateship, ii. 393
Bragge, Mr, takes measures against T. C., ii. 141
Brampton, Cumberland, marriage of Sarah Mellon at, ii. 230, 231, 285, 286
Braye, Lord, his collection, i. 271
Brayley, Edward, *Beauties of England and Wales*, ii. 77
Brechin, Southesk Estate Office, i. 6 *note*
Brent, Bibby of, ii. 231
Brentford, Burdett elected M.P. for, ii. 126-8, 133-8, 140, 141, 160, 162, 204, 225
Brereton, Austin, *History of the Adelphi*, i. 43
Brest, French fleet sails from, i. 113, 114, 119, 160; ii. 99
Bridgworth, Miss Mellon in, ii. 233
Bridlington, T. C. at, i. 168
Brighton, C. J. Fox at, i. 214, 217, 281
— George IV. at, ii. 185
— Miss Mellon at, ii. 278, 289, 290, 309
— T. C. at, i. 121, 136; ii. 196, 295, 362, 372
Bristol, Lady, at Tunbridge Wells, ii. 297
Bristol, Coxe-Hippisley family of, i. 128 *and note*
— sends aid to America, i. 76
— T. C. at, i. 79, 81, 108; ii. 79, 164, 171, 220
Bristol, Frederick Augustus, 4th Earl of, his daughter, i. 261 *note*
Bristol, Frederick William, Marquis of, at Brighton, ii. 295
— at Tunbridge Wells, ii. 297-302
— his career, ii. 382
— his friendship with Mr and Mrs Coutts, ii. 382-4
— his seat at Ickworth, ii. 305-7, 384, 393
— T. C. visits, ii. 305-7
British Bourse, the, i. 43
British Museum, Bute papers in, ii. 117
— *Observer* file in, ii. 317 *note*
British Museum, Pelham letters in, ii. 157, 172-7
— Townly marbles in, ii. 100 *note*
— Whitefoord Collection, i. 28, 63
Brittany, Royalists in, ii. 39
Broadley, A. M., his autograph collection, ii. 28 *note*
Broadstairs, Mrs Coutts at, ii. 367
Brodie, Dr, attends Lady Louisa Gordon, i. 31
Broglio, Marshal, his command, i. 247
Brompton, Lady Bute in, ii. 182
Brookes' Club, i. 171, 244
— Vaughan at, ii. 339 *note*
Brougham, Lord, defends Caroline of Brunswick, ii. 198, 199
Broughton, John Cam Hobhouse, Lord, i. 81 *note*
— his *Memorials of a Long Life*, ii. 121, 274
— on Lady Hester Stanhope, ii. 348
Broughton, John Murray of, i. 12
Brown, Thomas, wine merchant, his friendship with James Coutts, i. 65, 79, 85, 107
— partner of Whitefoord, i. 63, 65, 148; ii. 23, 32, 35, 36, 71, 90, 95, 98
— T. C. on, i. 165, 168, 242, 243, 257
Brown, Mary, ii. 253
Brown, Miss, her marriage, ii. 68
Brown, Mr, acts for Fanny Coutts, i. 59
Browne, Anthony, architect of Cowdray, ii. 33
Browning, Oscar, editor of *Dispatches from Paris*, i. 259 *note*
Browning, Robert, *Paracelsus* quoted, ii. 85
Bruce, Lady H. Stanhope on, ii. 357
Bruce, David, banker, partner of Campbell & Middleton, i. 37
Brunswick, Duke of, as saviour of Holland, ii. 39, 57
— T. C. on, ii. 19
Brussels, i. 283
— Duke of Kent in, ii. 150, 159, 178
— Duke of York in, i. 69 *note*
— Kemble in, ii. 309
— letter from, i. 192
Bruton, T. C. at, ii. 221
Buccleuch, Henry, 4th Duke, appoints Trotter a Deputy-Lieutenant, ii. 215

Buccleuch, Henry, client of the Ayr Bank, i. 77
Buccleuch, Francis, 5th Duke of, ii. 215
Buccleuch, Duchess of, presents the Misses Coutts at Court, i. 294
Buchan, 10th Earl of, marries Agnes Stuart, i. 13
Buchan, David Stewart, 11th Earl of, his ancestry, i. 13
— his career, i. 168 *note*; ii. 378
— his correspondence with T. C., i. 168; ii. 329 *note*, 376, 378-81
Buchan, Henry David, 12th Earl of, his succession, i. 168 *note*
Buckinger, Matthew, his picture, i. 10 *note*
Buckingham, Nugent Temple, Marquis of, as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, i. 197, 199, 285
— his attitude to T. C., ii. 133
— his creation, i. 87 *note*, 170 *note*, 190
— installed K.G., i. 203
— Lady H. Stanhope's letter to, ii. 355 *note*
Buckingham, Silk, visits Lady H. Stanhope, ii. 349
Buckinghamshire, 2nd Earl of, his granddaughter, ii. 72
Buckhurst, Baroness, her first marriage, ii. 297
Buckhurst Park, T. C. visits, ii. 304
Bude, General, Duke of York on, ii. 175
Bulkeley, Lord, his country seat, ii. 31
Bulstrode, C. J. Fox at, i. 221
Bunbury, on Miss Mellon, ii. 301
Bunker Hill, battle of, i. 74 *note*
Burdett, Charles Sedley, his death by drowning, ii. 4, 32, 71, 125
Burdett, Clara Maria, daughter of Sir Francis, ii. 270 *note*, 271
Burdett, Francis, father of Sir Francis, ii. 4, 32, 42, 43, 122, 125
Burdett, Sir Francis, at Foremark, ii. 69, 98
— elected M.P. for Brentford, ii. 126-8, 133-8, 140, 141, 160, 162, 204, 225
— his arrest, ii. 261-76
— his career, ii. 120-8
— his electioneering expenses, ii. 120, 128
Burdett, Sir Francis, his father's death, ii. 43, 125
— his house in town, ii. 5, 35, 44, 125, 134, 137, 328, 329, 337
— his house at Wimbledon, ii. 125
— his imprisonment, ii. 122, 261-76
— his illness, ii. 224
— his intrigue with Lady Oxford, ii. 86, 87, 121
— his marriage, i. 271, ii. 3, 29, 54, 71, 124
— his neglect of his engagements, ii. 100, 101, 121
— his relations with his wife, ii. 204
— his relations with T. C., ii. 120-3, 128, 133-8, 140, 141, 204, 267, 316, 328-30, 337, 338, 367
— in Worthing, ii. 258
— Lady H. Stanhope on, ii. 356, 357
— member of the Opposition, ii. 86, 120, 126, 133
— on T. C.'s will, ii. 370
— Stevens, chaplain to, ii. 64 *note*
— Tooke's influence on, ii. 125
Burdett, Joanna, daughter of Sir Francis, ii. 271
Burdett, Mrs, her death, ii. 122
Burdett, Robert, son of Francis, ii. 265, 268, 275
Burdett, Sir Robert, of Foremark, grandfather of Sir Francis, ii. 3, 32, 42, 43, 54, 69, 71, 122
— his death, ii. 94, 125
Burdett, Sophia, daughter of Sir Francis, letters to, ii. 270
Burdett, Sophia, Lady, at Eastbourne, ii. 95
— at Foremark, ii. 98
— at Worthing, ii. 257, 258
— her attitude to her father's remarriage, ii. 242, 319, 323, 325-45, 367-71, 391
— her children, ii. 54, 79, 94, 105, 125, 132, 137
— her ill-health, ii. 57, 63, 69, 81
— her inheritance, ii. 369-71
— her letters to her father, ii. 120, 326
— visits her husband in the Tower, ii. 271, 275, 276
— witnesses her husband's arrest, ii. 268
Burdett, Susan, daughter of Sir Francis, ii. 272

Burdett, Sir Thomas, ii. 4
Burdett, William Jones, escorts his brother, ii. 265, 269, 273
Burdett Coutts, Angela, Baroness, i. 46; ii. 78 *note*, 395
— her munificence, ii. 248
Burford, Lord, *see* Duke of St Albans
Burgage tenures, T. C. on the, i. 194
Burgess, Sir James Bland, ignores Burdett, ii. 121
— on Pitt's Sinking Fund, i. 166 *note*
Burgoyne, General, his campaign in America, i. 74 *note*, 86, 89
Burke, Edmund, execution of Sir J. Reynolds, ii. 28
— his bill for Economic Reform, i. 134 *note*
— his reply to Grenville's tract, i. 143 *note*
— Lord Macartney on his *Reflections*, i. 292
— Lord Macartney's friendship with, i. 289
— on Fox, ii. 12 *note*
— opposes Pitt's Irish policy, i. 196 *note*
Burke, Richard, attends the funeral of Reynolds, ii. 9 *note*
— his letter to Malone, ii. 28
Burning of Moscow, The, production of, ii. 384
Burns, Robert, at Mossgiel, i. 159
Burton, Dr, Headmaster of Winchester, ii. 116
Burton Pynsent, Somersetshire, seat of Lord and Lady Chatham, i. 89, 92, 109, 169, 186, 293, 301; ii. 347, 354 *note*, 361
Bury St Edmunds, Gentleman Smith at, ii. 305, 384-9
— Lord Bristol M.P. for, ii. 382
Bushey Park, Lord and Lady Guilford at, ii. 70, 71
Bute, Countess of, her advice to Lord Mountstuart, i. 150
Bute, John, 3rd Earl of, arbitrates between Jas. and Thomas Coutts, i. 51, 52, 72
— as client of T. C., i. 88, 270, 289
— his daughter, Mary, ii. 257 *note*
— his death, ii. 116
— his influence at Court, i. 13, 51, 142, 150-2, 270; ii. 115, 145
Bute, John, his ministry, i. 62 *note*, 76, 78, 154 *note*
— his old age and illness, i. 291, 297; ii. 16
— proposed visit to, ii. 16, 17
— T. C. on, i. 108, 117, 118
Bute, Fanny, Marchioness of, at Cardiff, ii. 221
— attends her mother, ii. 303-5
—Drumsoy settled on, i. 131 *note*
— Duke of York's friendship with, ii. 182, 191, 195, 197
— fails to inherit Crawfurdland, i. 62, 181; ii. 2, 25
— her attitude to her father's remarriage, ii. 323, 325, 328-45
— her children, ii. 132, 144, 166, 384
— her friendship with Lady H. Stanhope, ii. 352-4, 357 *note*, 362
— her friendship with Lord Bristol, ii. 382
— her ill-health, ii. 223
— her inheritance, ii. 369-71
— her letters to her father, ii. 219
— her marriage, i. 62, 131 *note*, 142, 154 *note*, 271 *note*
— her relations with H. Mellon, ii. 281 *note*, 298, 301, 319
— lives in Devonshire, ii. 276, 280, 290
— lives in Italy, ii. 369, 391
— travels abroad, ii. 182, 197, 200, 201, 274
Bute, Jane Charlotte, Marchioness of, her death, i. 154 *note*
Bute, Maria, Marchioness of, her marriage, ii. 182, 194, 330
Bute, John Stuart, 1st Marquis of, Ambassador in Madrid, ii. 68, 69
— Duke of York's friendship with, ii. 157, 182
— his career, i. 142, 150; ii. 115-8
— his children, ii. 293 *note*
— his country seat, ii. 139, 260
— his first wife, ii. 116
— his ill-health, ii. 223
— his second marriage, i. 62, 131 *note*, 142, 154 *note*, 271 *note*; ii. 114, 117, 119, 303
— in London, ii. 27
— in Paris, ii. 309
— visits Miss Mellon, ii. 298, 299
Bute, John Crichton Stuart, 2nd Marquis of, ii. 17 *note*

Bute, John Crichton Stuart, 2nd Marquis of, his inheritance, i. 221 *note*
— his magic lantern, ii. 280
— his marriage, i. 154 *note*; ii. 72, 182, 194, 330
— succeeds to the title, ii. 116
Bute, "Lothair," 3rd Marquis of, ii. 117
Buxar, battle of, i. 167 *note*
Buxton, Count Zenobio at, ii. 131, 132
— T. C.'s visit to, ii. 17, 22, 31-4
Byron, Admiral, leaves St Lucia, i. 111, 121
Byron, George Gordon, Lord, his daughter Ada, i. 145 *note*
— his friendship with Bankes, ii. 356 *note*
— his friendship with Burdett, ii. 274
— his friendship with the Duke of Dorset, i. 259 *note*
— his friendship with Hobhouse, i. 81 *note*
— his *Werner*, ii. 206
— Lady Hester Stanhope on, ii. 348
— on Alcibiades, ii. 126
— on the Duchess of Gordon, i. 30 *note*
— on the Earl of Carlisle, i. 39 *note*
— on Erskine, ii. 376
— on finance, ii. 63
— on Fitzpatrick, i. 215 *note*
— on Fox, i. 208
— on his grandfather, i. 111
— on the Malvern Hills, i. 45
— on Raymond, ii. 321
— on Sheridan, ii. 380 *note*
— on travel, i. 250
— quoted, i. 46; ii. 121, 273
— sells Newstead Abbey, ii. 77
Byron, Captain John, his marriage, i. 259 *note*
Byron, Isabella, her marriages, i. 39

C

Cadiz, James Charles Pitt at, i. 100
— merchant of, ii. 118
Caernarvon Castle, ii. 30
Caithness, Sir James Stewart of, i. 168 *note*
Calais, T. C. at, i. 257, 293
Calder, John, his letters to T. C., i. 16
Calder, Rev. John, Patrick Coutts entrusted to, i. 66
Call, William, antiquary, on Edward, Duke of York, i. 68 *note*
Calonne, Charles Alexandre de, i. 262
— his wife at Bath, i. 246
Calonne, Controller-General, T. C.'s intimacy with, ii. 145
Cambridge, St John's College, ii. 388
— Trinity College, ii. 217, 356 *note*
Cambridge, Adolphus Frederick, Duke of, client of T. C., ii. 146, 147
Camden, Lord, at Hayes, i. 299
— in the Cabinet, i. 175, 189
— T. C. on, i. 104, 109
Camelford, Macpherson M.P. for, i. 191 *note*
Camlachie, Walkinshaw of, ii. 45
Camp, Miss de, actress, ii. 235
Campbell, Colonel Archibald, as prisoner of war, i. 81
— his career, i. 81 *note*
Campbell, General Sir Archibald, at Savannah, i. 119
— T. C. on, i. 190
Campbell, Elizabeth, her marriage, i. 37
Campbell, George, banker, partner of George Middleton, i. 37, 38, 43, 67, 82, 107, 131 *note*, 159
Campbell, Janet, ancestress of Sir W. Scott, i. 9 *note*
Campbell, John, i. 131 *note*
Campbell, John, banker, founder of Coutts & Co., i. 36, 37, 49, 77 *note*
Campbell, Mary, her marriage, i. 37, 146 *note*
Campbell, Colonel Mure, his marriage, i. 116
Campbell, Robert, of Northwoodside, Glasgow, i. 9
Campell & Coutts, Messrs, i. 252, 261
— bankers to the Royal family, ii. 145
Camperdown, battle of, ii. 85, 95, 96
Canada, Duke of Kent in, ii. 148-52, 155
— proposed cession of, i. 67
— Roman Catholics in, ii. 148

Canary Islands, the, Patrick Coutts trades with, i. 9
Canning, George, as Treasurer of the Navy, ii. 214
Cantatrices Célèbres, Les, Escudier's, i. 236 *note*
Canterbury, Lady Bute at, ii. 200
— Moore, Archbishop of, ii. 75 *note*
— Charles Manners Sutton, Archbishop of, i. 159 *note*; ii. 316
Canterbury, 1st Viscount, i. 159 *note*
Cape of Good Hope, Macartney, Governor of, i. 290
Cape Regiment, the, ii. 143
Cape St Vincent, battle of, i. 65
Cardiff, Lord and Lady Bute at, ii. 221
— Barony of, ii. 116
Cardross, Lord, refuses a secretaryship, ii. 378
Carhampton, Anne, daughter of Lord, ii. 9 *note*
Carlisle, i. 214
— T. C. in, i. 116, 138, 195-8, 296
Carlisle, Frederick Howard, 5th Earl of, as Commissioner for America, i. 103 *note*
— as Lord Steward, i. 161 *note*
— his candidates for Morpeth, i. 39-42
— his career, i. 39 *note*
— Selwyn's letter to, i. 144
Carlton House, building of, ii. 60
Carmagnoles, dissolution of the, ii. 39
Carmarthen, Francis Osborne, Marquis of, correspondent of the Duke of Dorset, i. 259 *note*
Carnarvon, Newborough M.P. for the county of, ii. 30
Carnatic, British power in the, ii. 6
— Hyder Ali in the, i. 167 *note*
Carnegie, Sir David, acquires Fullerton, i. 6 *note*
Carolina, defeat of Lord Cornwallis in, i. 135
— war in, i. 119
Caroline of Brunswick, Queen, Erskine defends, ii. 375-8; her marriage, ii. 60
— her trial, death, and funeral, ii. 187, 188, 376-8
— T. C. as a friend of, ii. 184, 187, 198-203
Carteaux, Jean François, republican general, ii. 37, 40
Carthagena, Baillie's picture of, i. 10 *note*
Cartwright, Major, on Burdett, ii. 121
Cassillis, David Kennedy, 10th Earl of, his death, ii. 11
— T. C. on, i. 80, 179
Cassillis, Archibald Kennedy, 11th Earl of, his succession, i. 80 *note*; ii. 11 *note*
Cassillis, 12th Earl of, ii. 11 *note*. *See* 1st Marquis of Ailsa,
Castle Gordon, T. C. at, i. 126
Castle Hill Lodge, Ealing, Duke of Kent at, ii. 148, 157-9, 168, 169, 171-4
Castlemilk, Andrew Stuart of, ii. 112
Castlereagh, Lord, on the India Board, ii. 223
Castleshields, Archibald Trotter of, i. 13
Castle Spectre, The, Raymond acts in, ii. 321
Catalogue of Royal and Honourable Authors, A, Walpole's, i. 67
Catherine, Empress of Russia, joins the Quadruple Entente, i. 232
— T. C. on, i. 247
Cathlage Hall, ii. 77
Catholic Emancipation, supported by Sir John Hippisley, i. 128 *note*
Catholics in Ireland, ii. 1
Catton Hall, Christopher Horton of, ii. 9 *note*
Cato Street Conspirators, the, ii. 122 *note*
Cawdor, Earl of, his respect for T. C., ii. 392
Cecil Estate, the, i. 43
Cesarini, Bishop of Milevi, secretary to the Cardinal of York, ii. 112
Chabannes, Mme. de, in Paris, i. 262
Champagne, T. C. in, i. 250, 255
Champneys, W. B., marries T. C. and H. Mellon, ii. 314, 320
Champollion, J. F., *L'Egypte sous les Pharaons*, ii. 352 *note*
Chantilly, Duke of York in, i. 69 *note*
Chantrey, Sir Francis, his statue of T. C., ii. 395
— on Burdett, ii. 274
Chapone, Mrs, ii. 229

Charles I, King, at Matson, i. 248
— his coronation ring, i. 272
Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender, i. 200 *note*
— encamped near Edinburgh, i. 12
— his relations with Clementina Walkinshaw, i. 62; ii. 44-50, 85
— supported by James Coutts, senr., i. 8, 12, 20
— toasted by T. C., i. 20
Charleston, defence of, i. 80
Charlotte, Queen, client of T. C., ii. 128
— disapproves of the Duke of York's duel, i. 276
— gives a ball, ii. 23
— her death, ii. 185, 376, 387
— refuses to countenance the Margravine of Anspach, ii. 100 *note*
— refuses to receive Mrs Coutts, ii. 331, 342
Charlotte, Princess, her death, ii. 198, 199, 372
Chatham, by Lord Rosebery, quoted, i. 87 *note*, 91
Chatham Correspondence, quoted, i. 99, 106
Chatham Papers, at the Record Office, i. 90 *note*
Chatham, Hester, Countess of (wife of 1st Earl), at Burton Pynsent, ii. 347
— her death, i. 92
— her nephew, i. 178 *note*
— her financial difficulties, i. 89, 92-101, 109, 147, 161, 162, 169, 186; ii. 93, 142
— her relations and marriage, i. 91
— T. C.'s correspondence with, i. 72, 90-109, 114, 116, 147, 161, 169, 186, 205, 228, 230, 239, 270, 274, 281-3, 286, 288, 293-4, 296, 301, 304; ii. 7, 10, 29, 42, 54-7, 59, 86, 92-4, 96, 101-6, 129
— T. C.'s relations with, ii. 346
Chatham, Countess of (wife of 2nd Earl), chaperons the Misses Coutts, ii. 8
— her supposed letter to T. C., i. 154 *note*
— her friendship with the Coutts family, ii. 102, 129
Chatham, William Pitt, 1st Earl of, Copley's picture of, ii. 350
— his attitude to the American War of Independence, i. 83, 84, 89, 90, 97-102
Chatham, William Pitt, 1st Earl of, his daughter, ii. 347
— his financial difficulties, i. 89-101
— his gout, i. 280
— his ill-health and death, i. 84, 86, 89, 90, 92, 104, 106-10
— his last speech in the House of Lords, i. 90, 96, 100 *note*, 107
— his marriage, i. 91
— his ministry, i. 175 *note*
— his name used by T. C., i. 72, 73
— T. C. on, i. 135; ii. 219
— T. C.'s devotion to, ii. 346
Chatham, John, 2nd Earl of, comes of age, i. 94
— franks T. C.'s letters, ii. 251
— his kind offices for Fanny Coutts, i. 228, 230
— his letter to Pitt, ii. 138
— his marriage, i. 240 *note*
— his popularity as First Lord, i. 299, ii. 36 *note*
— on his father's health, i. 84, 92
— serves under the Duke of Rutland, i. 120
— T. C. on, i. 274, 286, 288, 293, 294, 296-9, 302, 304; ii. 7, 11, 55, 94, 102-4, 129
— T. C.'s letter to, ii. 134
— with William Pitt, i. 147
Chatsworth, seat of the Duke of Devonshire, ii. 15
Cheltenham, Burdett at, ii. 224
— Duchess of Gordon at, i. 301, 302
— Duke of York at, i. 248
— James Coutts at, i. 79
— Miss Mellon at, ii. 238-43, 252-5, 275, 313, 324, 332
— T. C. at, i. 126, 130, 163, 190-5, 200, 203, 241-3, 245; ii. 13, 14, 16, 65-7, 71, 76, 87, 238, 324
— Whitefoord at, i. 248,; ii. 29
Chénard, Simon, his career, i. 236 *note*
— in Paris, i. 236, 237
Cherbourg, Canada, Duke of Kent at, ii. 149
Chertsey, C. J. Fox at, ii. 218
Chesapeake Bay, battle of, i. 125, 138
Chevening, seat of Lord Stanhope, ii. 97, 347
Chichester, Earl of, T. C.'s letter to, ii. 130

Chichester, Sir John, entertains T. C., ii. 220
Chigwell, Essex, i. 305 *note*
Child, Francis, banker, i. 36
Child, Messrs, i. 252
Child of Nature, The, ii. 234
China, Macartney's embassy to, i. 46, 289, 290; ii. 6 *note*
— trade with, i. 287 *note*
Chiswick, Burdett at, ii. 100
Chiswick, Corney House, i. 290
— Queen Caroline at, ii. 188
Christchurch, Brown at, i. 257
— T. C. at, ii. 253
Churchill, Charles, Almon friend of, i. 123
Ciceiaporci, Mr and Mrs, in Rome, ii. 7
Cinque Ports, Lord North, Warden of the, ii. 73
Circular notes, Herries' system of, i. 48
Citeau, Abbé of, i. 266
Civil List, T. C. on the, i. 193
Clarence, William, Duke of, visits T. C., ii. 57
Clarendon Press, the, publishes the *Whitefoord Papers*, i. 63
Clayton, Sir Richard, in Cheltenham, ii. 332
Clermont, Lady, in Paris, i. 260, 263
Cleveland, Duchess of, on Lady H. Stanhope, ii. 346, 349
Clifton, i. 57
— T. C. at, ii. 79, 143, 163-5, 171
Clinton, General, on Colonel Crawfurd, i. 179, 275
— his command in the American War of Independence, i. 74 *note*, 80 *note*, 139 *and note*
Clumber, seat of the Duke of Newcastle, i. 303, 304
Coalition ministry, the, of Fox and North, i. 142, 146 *note*, 158, 161
— Lord Carlisle as Lord Privy Seal in, i. 39 *note*
— promoted by George North, ii. 73
Cobbett, William, on Burdett, ii. 121
— *Political Register*, ii. 262
Cobham, Lord Darnley of, ii. 372
Cobham, the last Viscount, i. 91
Cobourg marriage, the, ii. 151
Cochrane, Grisel, grandmother of Jean Stuart, i. 13
Cochrane, Mrs, her desire to see T. C., i. 200
Cockburn, Sir James, at Petersham, ii. 139
Cochrane, Thomas, Lord, son of Lord Dundonald, i. 27
Cochrane, William, invites T. C. to Gullen, i. 116
— partner of James and Thomas Coutts, i. 25, 47
Cockermouth, Elliot M.P. for, i. 65 *note*
Coke, Lord, quoted, ii. 74
Coke, Thomas, of Norfolk, calls on T. C., ii. 267
Coke of Norfolk and his friends, ii. 121
Colchester, John Peagrim of, i. 37
Colchester, Lord, *Diaries and Correspondence*, ii. 75 *note*
— on Burdett's imprisonment, ii. 263, 265
Coldstream Guards, the, i. 276
Coleridge, Mr Justice, at Strathfieldsaye, ii. 189
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, *A Character*, quoted, ii. 125
— caricature of, ii. 87
— his *Fears in Solitude*, ii. 86
— his "Ode to Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire," ii. 205, 207
— his *Religious Musings*, ii. 76 *note*
— his *Remorse*, ii. 321
— in Malta, ii. 348
— on Fox and Pitt, ii. 77
— on Sheridan, ii. 233
Collins, Mr, Agent, T. C.'s letter to, ii. 252
Cologne, i. 283
Colman, George, manager of Drury Lane, i. 249; ii. 385
— his friendship with Whitefoord, i. 64
— *The Jealous Wife*, ii. 386
Colt family of Auchtercoul, the, i. 4; ii. 4
Colt family of Inveresk, the, i. 4
Coltness, Stewarts of, i. 271; ii. 376
Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, Tenth Report of the, ii. 212 *note*
Commutation Bill, the, i. 188 *note*
Company of Scotland, trading to Africa and the Indies, the, i. 9
Compiègne, Duke of York in, i. 69 *note*

Complete Baronetcy, The, by G. E. C., i. 43
Conjeveram, Colonel Baillie at, i. 167 *note*
Congleton, Philip Antrobus of, i. 82 *note*
Congreve's *Mourning Bride*, ii. 386 *note*
Constance, Lake of, T. C. visits, i. 255
Constantinople, banking in, ii. 351
Convention between France and the Vatican, ii. 53 *note*
Conway Castle, ii. 30
Conyers, Baroness, her marriages, i. 259 *note*
Cooper, Sir Grey, secretary to the Treasury, i. 96
Coote, Charles. *See* Lord Bellamont
Coote, Sir Eyre, at Porto Novo, i. 167 *note*
Copley, J. S., his "Death of Lord Chatham," ii. 350
Cork, Sarah Mellon in, ii. 229
Corney House, Chiswick, i. 290
Corn Trade, rumoured corner in, in Edinburgh, i. 11 *note*
Cornwall, Duchy of, its revenue, ii. 60
Cornwallis, Charles, 2nd Marquis of, defeated at Cowpens, i. 135
— Governor-General of India, ii. 97 *note*
— his campaign in India, ii. 6, 11, 16
— his marriage, i. 30 *note*
— his surrender, i. 138 *note*, 139
— his victory over Greene, i. 125, 135 *note*, 136
— made K.G., i. 203
Coromandel Coast, Dutch settlements on the, i. 134
Cottesbrook Park, Sir John Langham of, ii. 122
Counter, reformist clubs, ii. 20
Country Girl, The, Miss Mellon in, ii. 282
Courtenay, Hon. Elizabeth Kelland, her marriage, ii. 385, 388
Courtenay, Sir William, of Powderham, ii. 385
Court Guide, Boyle's, ii. 328 *note*
Coutras, battle of, ii. 149
Coutts & Co., Bankers, by Ralph Richardson, F.R.S.E., i. 3 *note*, 4 *note*, 21 *note*, 60 *note*
Coutts Brothers & Co., constitution of, i. 23, 38
Coutts, Messrs, bankers to the King's Privy Purse, i. 51; ii. 127, 145, 185-7, 200-3
Coutts, Stephen, Coutts & Co., bankers, i. 9, 16, 23
Coutts family, the, bibliography of, i. 3 *and note*
— early history of, i. 4
Coutts, Alexander, Bailie of Montrose, i. 8
Coutts, Angela Burdett, ii. 78 *note*, *see under* Burdett
Coutts, Captain, his half pay, ii. 191
Coutts, Christine, i. 9
Coutts, Fanny, daughter of Thomas, at Court, i. 274, 294; ii. 8
— favourite of Colonel Crawfurd, i. 181, 212, 214, 220, 227, 230
— her birth and education, i. 233
— her country house visits, i. 301-305
— her ill-health, i. 182, 194, 203, 205, 210, 219, 220, 228, 230, 234, 239, 241, 273, 286-9; ii. 5, 9, 10, 19, 22, 34, 64, 70, 72, 79, 81, 115, 182
— in love with Sedley Burdett, ii. 4, 5, 71, 115
— in Paris, i. 250-70, 275
— marries the Marquis of Bute, i. 62, 131 *note*, 142, 271 *note*; ii. 114, 117, 119, 182. *See* the Marchioness of Bute
Coutts, Frances, daughter of James, i. 29
— accompanies her father abroad, i. 42, 54, 85, 105, 107
— her marriage, i. 42, 54-60, 79, 110, 112, 117, 128, 202 *note*; ii. 107 *note*. *See under* Stuart
Coutts, Harriot, 2nd wife of Thomas, ii. 197
— disinherits Lord Dudley Stuart, ii. 383, 384
— Duke of Kent's letter and messages to, ii. 159, 161-72
— her wealth, ii. 367-71
— her will, ii. 368, 371, 383
— her married life, ii. 363-74
— her portrait, ii. 380
— her presents to royalty, ii 186, 189

Coutts, Harriot, her reception by the family, ii. 323-45, 363-71, 382
— her widowhood, ii. 282, 391, 395
— T. C.'s letters to, ii. 322-7, 338-342. *See also under* Mellon and St Albans
Coutts, James, merchant in London, i. 9, 10
Coutts, James, Provost of Montrose, his prosperous career, i. 7-9
Coutts, James. the younger, supports Charles Edward, i. 8, 12, 20
Coutts, James, 3rd son of Lord Provost, fails to contest Morpeth, i. 39-42
— his career, i. 17, 23, 38
— his friendship with Whitefoord, i. 63
— his illness and death, i. 42, 50-4, 80, 85-7, 105, 107
— his letter to Samuel Foote, i. 71
— his marriage, i. 38, 53
— his partnership with his brother dissolved, i. 50-3, 72-4, 77, 80, 112; ii. 107 *note*
— his portrait by Reynolds, i. 42
— his servant Susannah Starkie, i. 27, 53
— his wager with John Elliot, i. 65
— his wife's death, i. 35
— his will, i. 72 *note*, 107, 113, 128 *and note*
— in Cheltenham, i. 79
— leases land in the Strand, i. 44 *and note*, 45, 52, 73
— M.P. for Edinburgh, i. 39
— quarrels with his brother over his marriage, i. 34, 35
— severs connection with Herries, Forbes & Hunter, i. 49
— takes his brother Thomas into partnership, i. 24, 38, 49, 52
Coutts, Janet, marries John Stephen i. 9
Coutts, Jean, wife of John, her connections and marriage, i. 10, 13, 27, 168 *note*
— her death, 13, 14, 18
Coutts, John, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, i. 3, 4, 22; ii. 373
— his career, 9-13, 38
Coutts, John, Provost of Montrose, his career, i. 4-9
Coutts, John, the younger, Provost of Montrose, i. 7, 8, 25
Coutts, John (1732-61), 2nd son of Lord Provost Coutts, his career, i. 16, 17, 23, 24, 38
Coutts, John, son of Thomas, i. 233
Coutts, Mary, wife of James, i. 38, 53, 67, 146 *note*
Coutts, Margaret, daughter of John and Jean, i. 14, 15
Coutts, Patrick, merchant in Edinburgh, i. 9, 18
Coutts, Patrick (1731-18—), eldest son of Lord Provost Coutts, his career, i. 15, 16, 23, 38
— his illness, i. 16, 24, 42, 48, 66
Coutts, Sophia, daughter of Thomas, her birth and education, i. 233
— her country house visits, i. 300-5
— her illness, i. 273, 288, 294; ii. 19
— her marriage, i. 271; ii. 3, 4, 29, 54, 71, 124
— in Paris, i. 212, 220, 227, 231, 234, 250-70, 275; ii. 123
— presented at Court, i. 274, 294, 295; ii. 8
— T. C.'s letter to, i. 203. *See* Lady Burdett.
Coutts, Stewart, i. 14
Coutts, Susan, daughter of Thomas Coutts, i. 28
— her birth and education, i. 233
— her engagement to Lord Montague, ii. 4, 33, 71
— her letter to Fanny Coutts, i. 234-9
— her marriage, i. 271; ii. 68-72, 76. *See* Countess of Guilford
— in Paris, i. 212, 220, 227, 231, 234-9, 250-70, 275; ii. 123
— pays country house visits, i. 300-305
— presented at Court, i. 274, 294, 295; ii. 8
— T. C.'s letter to, i. 203
Coutts, Susannah, wife of Thomas, her ball in Paris, i. 262, 265, 270
— her children, i. 233
— her correspondence with the Duchess of Gordon, i. 182
— her death and burial, ii. 311, 392
— her failing mind, ii. 87, 183, 204, 227, 240, 276-8, 283, 288-92, 297-310
— her ill-health, i. 126, 134, 136, 138, 155, 159, 163, 211, 248; ii. 14, 16-8, 22, 54, 64, 67, 87

Coutts, Susannah, her knowledge of Miss Mellon, ii. 287, 288, 324
— her letter to Colonel Crawfurd, i. 70
— her lottery tickets, i. 70, 189
— her love of the theatre, ii. 96
— her marriage and connections, i. 25-35, 55, 65; ii. 287, 317
— her messages to Colonel Crawfurd, i. 119-22, 124, 127, 130, 132, 136, 138, 159, 165, 170, 179, 184, 191, 194, 198, 213, 227
— monument to, ii. 392
— on the fire at Crawfurdland, i. 129 *note*, 130
— witnesses Burdett's arrest, ii. 268
Coutts, Thomas, his partnership with Patrick Coutts & Thomas Stephen, i. 15
— his character as a Scotchman, i. 18, 65, 157
— his birth, i. 20
— youthful Jacobite, i. 20, 271
— his education, i. 21, 183 *note*
— his royal clients, i. 21; ii. 147, 153, 156, 159-72, 178-80, 373
— his friendship with Caleb Whitefoord, i. 22, 28, 29, 35, 63-5, 67
— as partner of James Coutts, i. 23-5, 35, 49
— marries Susannah Starkie, i. 25-35, 53, 65; ii. 226, 287, 317
— lives in the Strand, i. 44-6
— his friendship with Lord Macartney, i. 46
— severs connection with Herries, Forbes & Hunter, i. 49
— dissolves partnership with his brother, i. 50-4, 67, 72-4, 77, 80, 112
— opposes his niece's marriage, i. 55-60
— befriends the Stuart family, i. 60; ii. 373
— his letters to Lord Stair, i. 66, 67, 73-87, 102-8, 110, 122-4, 132-140, 143-50, 155, 164-7, 171-8
— in Paris, i. 67, 246, 250-70, 282, 285, 293; ii. 146, 208
— his letters to Colonel Crawfurd, i. 67, 75, 79
— his interest in lotteries, i. 71 *note*, 122, 189; ii. 244, 247
— his correspondence with Lady Chatham, i. 72, 90-109, 114, 116, 147, 161, 169, 186, 205, 228, 230, 239, 270, 274, 281-3, 286; ii. 54, 59, 86, 92, 104-6, 129
Coutts, Thomas, takes Adam Drummond into partnership, i. 75-8
— his ill-health, i. 81-6, 93, 96, 108, 126, 143, 147, 173, 176, 202, 205, 265; ii. 10, 12, 14, 17, 22, 54, 133, 134, 163, 164, 280, 319
— his appeal to Lord Chatham *re* America, i. 89, 90, 97, 99-102
— his daughters, i. 154 *note*, 164, 181, 189, 192, 203, 233, 250-70; ii. 71, 123, 146, 204
— declines a seat in Parliament, i. 158, 176-8
— his will, i. 164; ii. 367, 371
— on parliamentary reform, i. 180, 181
— gives offence to Colonel Crawfurd, i. 182, 206, 207
— on the Westminster election, i. 183
— his sons, i. 202, 233
— his horses, i. 213, 220, 222, 227, 277
— his financial assistance to C. J. Fox, i. 131 *note*, 208-10, 214-9, 221, 240, 243-6
— Fox's letters to, 214-9, 221, 240, 243-6, 281-4
— his breach with Lord Stair, i. 223-6, 229
— his travels abroad, i. 241, 250-273, 285-7, 293; ii. 145, 146
— appeals to Pitt *re* the Excise, i. 278-81
— Pitt's coldness to, i. 297-9
— opposes the first war with France, ii. 3
— settles in Stratton Street, ii. 5, 69, 125
— legacies bequeathed to, ii. 51, 113
— his kindness to the Comtesse d'Alberstroff, ii. 51-4, 66-9, 79, 94, 105, 109, 113, 119, 128, 132, 142, 143
— on Erskine's services to Irish Catholics, ii. 53 *note*
— his love of the theatre, ii. 96, 97, 281, 386, 389, 392
— his fall at Bath, ii. 102, 280, 368
— his relations with Burdett, ii. 120-3, 128, 133-8, 140-2, 160, 162,

204, 267, 316, 328-30, 337, 338, 367
Coutts, Thomas, his relations with the Duchess of Devonshire, ii. 145, 205, 207-11
— his relations with Lady Guilford, ii. 182, 194
— his attitude to Queen Caroline, ii. 184, 187, 198-203
— his relations with Lord Melville, ii. 205, 212-7
— his relations with Harriot Mellon, ii. 226-8, 238-49, 364
— his letters to Harriot Mellon, ii. 240, 249-60, 274-80, 283, 288-309, 318, 322-7
— his love of nature, ii. 284, 301
— his second marriage, ii. 182, 183, 185, 311-28
— his family's reception of his wife, ii. 323-45, 365, 382
— his letters to Harriot Coutts, ii. 338-42, 364-68
— his friends, ii. 374-90
— portraits of, ii. 379, 380
— his death and burial, ii. 391, 392
— as a patron of the arts, ii. 392-4
— anecdotes of, ii. 394
Coutts, Thomas, merchant, promotes the Darien Company, i. 9
Coutts, William, of Montrose, i. 4
— Provost of Montrose, i. 7, 9
Covent Garden Theatre, Gentleman Smith at, ii. 384
— Miss O'Neill appears at, ii. 386
— Mrs Crawford appears at, ii. 96 *note*
— Mrs Jordan appears at, ii. 289
— O.P. riots, ii. 240, 260, 276, 277 *note*, 290
— T.C.'s box at, ii. 281, 293, 303, 307
Coventry, Falstaff at, i. 220
Coventry, Lord, his respect for T. C., ii. 392
Cowdenknowes, James Home of, ii. 381
Cowdray, seat of, Lord Montague, ii. 2, 4, 33, 68
— destroyed by fire, ii. 33
— T. C. and family at, ii. 2, 9, 13, 14, 17
Cowes, Royal George Yacht off, ii. 186
Cowley House, Exeter, Lady Bute at, ii. 280 *note*
Cowpens, defeat of Lord Cornwallis at, i. 135 *note*
Cowper, William, his *John Gilpin*, i. 141
Cox, Mr, assayer, i. 103
Cox, Greenwood & Cox, Messrs, ii. 167
Cox and Moore's *Guide to Switzerland*, ii. 124
Craven, Elizabeth, Countess of, her career, ii. 100 *note*
Crawford, Anne, her marriage, i. 201 *note*
Crawford, Anne Street, actress, T. C. on, ii. 96, 97
Crawford, Charles, ii. 307
— his letters, ii. 299, 301
— his plays and fables, i. 239
Crawford, James, his career, i. 131 *note*
— in Paris, ii. 10
Crawford, John, contests Ayrshire, i. 159, 173, 179, 184, 191, 275
— his career, i. 131 *note*
— his ill-health, i. 175, 177, 191, 289, 291; ii. 10, 12, 224
— known as "Fish," i. 191 *note*, 208
— M.P. for Renfrewshire, i. 131, 132
— on James Coutts, i. 54, 77
— Pitt dines with, ii. 94
— T. C. on, i. 264
— travels abroad, ii. 12, 18
Crawfurd, Elizabeth Howison, inherits Crawfurdland, i. 62
Crawfurd, Gibbs, M.P., of Eaton Hall, at Rottingdean, i. 136
— his intercourse with T. C., i. 115, 201
Crawfurd, Sir Hew, Colonel Crawfurd's will in favour of, ii. 25, 26
Crawfurd, Colonel John Walkinshaw, addresses the Prince, i. 275, 277; ii. 2
— bequeathes Crawfurdland to Fanny Coutts, i. 62, 181; ii. 2, 25-7
— Fanny Coutts's letters to and from, i. 230, 246; ii. 12
— his career, i. 61
— his death, ii. 2, 59
— his house burnt down, i. 129
— his kinship with Clementina, ii. 44, 45

Crawfurd, Colonel John Walkinshaw, his letters to T. C., i. 206, 276
— his strained relations with T. C., i. 181, 182, 206
— in London, i. 231, 239, 288, 305
— pushes his army business, i. 190-199; ii. 2, 23, 26
— T. C.'s letters to, i. 55-7, 61, 63, 67-71, 75, 79, 110, 115-37, 159-165, 169, 172-9, 184, 188-207, 210-214, 220, 221, 227, 231, 241, 246, 255, 275, 284, 287, 295, 300, 303-305; ii. 2, 5, 8-13, 16-27
— T. C. sends his horses to, i. 213, 220, 222, 227, 277, 296
Crawfurd, Margaret, daughter of Ronald, i. 221 *note*
Crawfurd, Patrick, his marriage, i. 37, 56 *note*, 77 *note*, 131 *note*
Crawfurd, Mrs Patrick, her mother, i. 146 *note*
Crawfurdland, Colonel Crawfurd at, i. 56 *note*, 61, 62, 116, 126, 175, 192, 198, 210, 214, 227, 276; ii. 13, 16, 25
— fire at, i. 129 *and note*
— ownership of, i. 62, 181; ii. 2, 25-7
— T. C. on, i. 135, 138, 168, 184, 192
Creevey Papers, The, ii. 376
— Burdett's letter to Creevey, ii. 272
— on the Duke of Kent, ii. 150, 151
— on T. C. and Royalty, ii. 184
Crichton, Lady Elizabeth Penelope, her illness, i. 221
— her marriage, i. 221 *note*; ii. 117 *note*
Crieff, T. C. at, i. 296, 300
Critic, The, Miss Mellon in, ii. 282
Critical Essays, Macaulay's, i. 245 *note*
Croker, Wilson, on Boswell, ii. 116 *note*
— on Burdett, ii. 121
Cromarty Firth, Novar House, i. 167 *note*
Cromwell, Oliver, Johnson and Lord Auchinleck on, i. 248 *note*
Cross, Miss, governess, i. 204
Cruikshank, George, his caricature of Coutts and Miss Mellon, ii. 248
Cullen, signification of, i. 4
Culloden, battle of, ii. 47
Culross, Sir Walter Scott at, i. 200
Culte family, the, i. 4
Cumberland, Anne, Duchess of, Fanny Coutts visits, ii. 9
Cumberland, "Butcher," Duke of, orders the imprisonment of James Coutts, i. 8, 12, 20
— orders T. C. to be flogged, i. 20
Cumberland, Ernest Augustus, 3rd Duke of, his relations with T. C., i. 21
— client of T. C., ii. 146, 161, 162, 164
Cumberland, Frederick, Duke of, drains the Treasury, i. 92
— his marriage, i. 92 *note*
Cunningham, Allan, on Fuseli, ii. 389, 390
Cutler & Heigelin, Messrs, of Naples, ii. 7

D

Dalkeith, Caroline, Countess of, marries Charles Townshend, i. 69 *note*
Dalmahoy, George Dalrymple of, i. 143 *note*
Dalrymple, Colonel, acts for the Duke of Kent, ii. 167-70
Dalrymple, George, of Dalmahoy, i. 143 *note*
Dalrymple, George, witness, ii. 231, 286
Dalrymple, John, his marriage, i. 37
Dalrymple, Lord, his Army Scheme, i. 112
— his diplomatic appointments, i. 133, 136, 145, 147, 165, 176. *See* 6th Earl of Stair
— mooted purchase of a borough for, i. 141, 149, 176-8
— purchase of Gatton for, i. 141, 149 *note*
Dalrymple, General William, buys black cattle, i. 184
— not a client of T. C., i. 143
— his letter, i. 148
Daly, manager of Dublin Theatre, ii. 321
Damascus, Lady H. Stanhope in, ii. 349
D'Arcy, Lady Amelia, her marriages, i. 259 *note*

Darien Company, the, i. 9
Darjoun, Lady H. Stanhope at, ii. 349, 359
Darnley, Lord, of Cobham, dines with T. C., ii. 372
Darwin, Dr, attends Fanny Coutts, ii. 82
Daubenton, Louis - Jean - Marie, naturalist, i. 250
Daubenton, Madame, chaperons the Misses Coutts, i. 231, 234, 250, 259
Daubeny's Club, Duke of York at, i. 276
D'Auteuil, Comtesse, gouvernante to the Misses Coutts, i. 251, 260, 267
Dedington, Sir Thomas Pope of, ii. 72 *note*
De Grasse, Comte, commands the French fleet, i. 138 *note*
De Grave at Fribourg, ii. 95
Delapaert, T. C. on, ii. 10
Delawarr, George John, 5th Earl of, his marriage, ii. 297
Delessert, T. C. on, ii. 10
Dennistoun, James, on Clementina, ii. 51
Dent, Mr, banker, T. C. on, ii. 82, 83
Deprudoman, Mr, at Fribourg, ii. 68
Derby, T. C. at, ii. 41
Dermody, Thomas, his *Life* by Raymond, ii. 321
Derry, Bishop of, his daughter, i. 261 *note*
— his son, Lord Bristol, ii. 382
Derwentwater, Lord William Gordon's villa on, i. 224
D'Escar, La Baronne, T. C. on, i. 266
Des Etourdis, production of, i. 235-7
Dettingen, battle of, i. 61
Devil to Pay, The, ii. 234, 282
Devonshire, Georgiana, Duchess of, ii. 382
— champion of the Whig interest, i. 209, 251
— her career, ii. 205-11
— her friendship with the Prince, i. 251, 260, 270
— T. C.'s relations and correspondence with, i. 251, 259-68; ii. 2, 14, 63, 145, 205, 207-11
Devonshire, William, 5th Duke of, his marriages, i. 261 *note*; ii. 205 209
— on Mr Kean, ii. 308
— T. C.'s letters to, i. 20
Devonshire, 6th Duke of (as Lord Hartington), his mother's letter to, ii. 209-11
Devonshire House circle, the, i. 191 *note*
De Winter, Dutch Admiral, his defeat, ii. 95 *note*
Dibdin, Thomas John, on Miss Mellon, ii. 232
Dickie, Andrew, confidential clerk, ii. 190, 200-3, 371, 399
Dickson, Captain, his son, ii. 195
Dictionary of National Biography on Harriot Mellon, ii. 245
— quoted, ii. 45 *note*
Digby, Rear-Admiral Robert, his command, i. 118
Dijon, T. C. at, i. 241, 255
Director, H.M.S., ii. 95
Disfranchisement of boroughs, i. 163 *note*
Dispatches from Paris, 1788, i. 259 *note*
D'Israeli, Isaac, Coutts a tenant of, i. 46
Dodd, Captain, A.D.C. to the Duke of Kent, ii. 167, 170, 171
Dogger Bank, battle of, i. 134 *note*
Donne, Messrs Snowe &, bankers, i. 36
Dorking, T. C. at, ii. 256
Dorset, John Frederick, 3rd Duke of, as Ambassador in Paris, i. 32 *note*, 259, 262, 263
— entertains Burdett, ii. 123
— his house in Piccadilly, ii. 34
— his sister and nieces, i. 260 *note*, 263
— T. C. on, i. 285
Dorset, John George Frederick, 4th Duke of, his death, i. 259 *note*
— his sister, ii. 297
— his seat at Knole, ii. 302
Douglas, Marquis of, ii. 46
Douglas, Sir James, his baronetcy, i. 203
Dover, Lady Bute at, ii. 197, 200
— T. C. at, i. 211, 212, 295
Dover Castle, Duke of Clarence at, ii. 196

Downe, Thomas Pope, 3rd Earl of, ii. 72 *note*
Downman, John, his portrait of the Duchess of Devonshire, ii. 206
Dramatic Censor, The, on Miss Mellon, ii. 235 *note*
Dreghorn, Alexander Trotter of, ii. 212, 215-7
Dropmore MSS., quoted, ii. 133, 225
Drumlanrig, "Old Q" at, i. 284
Drummond, Adam, his partnership with T. C., i. 75-8, 82, 131, 201 *note*
— M.P. for St Ives, i. 77, 117
— subscribes to the Loyalty Loan, ii. 83
Drummond, Jane, her marriage, i. 303 *note*
Drummond, Messrs, bankers, i. 252
Drummond, Sir Gordon, i. 75 *note*
Drumsoy, Patrick Crawfurd of, i. 37, 131 *note*
Drury Lane Theatre, building of, ii. 277
— Garrick, manager of, ii. 305 *note*, 385
— Miss Mellon acts at, ii. 233-7, 239, 240, 248, 281, 294, 329
— Raymond, stage manager at, ii. 288 *note*, 315, 321
— T. C.'s box at, i. 253-6; ii. 159, 281, 291, 307, 319
— T. C. on, ii. 97
Dryburgh House, Lord Buchan's seat, ii. 378, 379
Dublin Castle, Colonel Crawfurd at, i. 179, 193
Dublin, George IV. in, ii. 188
— public rejoicings in, i. 196 *note*
— Theatre, Raymond, appears at, ii. 321
— *The Sylph*, published in, ii. 206
— Trinity College, i. 289
Duddon, Brent on the, ii. 231
Dudley, Lord, at Worthing, ii. 257
Dumfries, Earldom of, i. 221 *note*
Dumfries, Patrick Crichton, 5th Earl of, in Paris, i. 220
— his daughter Elizabeth, ii. 17 *note*
Dumfries, 6th Earl of, his magic lantern, ii. 280
Dumouriez, T. C. on, ii. 21
Duncan, Admiral Adam, defeats the Dutch, ii. 95, 96
Duncan, Miss, actress, ii. 246 *note*
Duncannon, Frederick, Viscount, brother-in-law of the Duchess of Devonshire, ii. 14
Dundas, Henry, burnt in effigy, ii. 13
— Pitt's connection with, i. 158, 159, 177
— T. C. on, i. 272, 279, 280, 301; ii. 20, 27
— *See* Viscount Melville
Dundas, James, Colonel Crawfurd sends a bond to, ii. 26
Dundas, Sir Thomas, advocates parliamentary reform, ii. 16
Dundonald, 1st Lord, i. 13
Dundonald, Archibald, 9th Lord, on James Coutts, i. 39, 42
— on Mrs Coutts, i. 27
Dunkeld Cathedral, Count Roehenstart buried in, ii. 52
Dunlop, Jean, daughter of James, i. 9
Dunning, John, i. 127 *note*. *See* Lord Ashburton
Duras, Duchesse de, memoir of, i. 253 *note*
Durham House, Strand, i. 43, 44
Dutch fleet, the, defeated by Duncan, ii. 95
— sails against England, i. 134
Dutch settlements on the Coromandel coast, i. 134 *note*, 167 *note*
Dyer, George, brings Lord Buchan to see Lamb, ii. 379 *note*
Dysart, seat of the Earls of Rosslyn, i. 137 *note*
— Colonel Sinclair of, T. C. visits, i. 110, 115, 126, 136-8, 155, 156, 182, 196-200

E

Ealing, Castle Hill Lodge, Duke of Kent at, ii. 148, 157-9, 171-4
Early, Mrs, attends Mrs Coutts, ii. 303, 304
Eastbourne, Lady Burdett at, ii. 95
— T. C. at, ii. 140
East India Bill, Fox's, i 158, 169 *note*, 170, 173

East India Company, Lord Guilford a Director of, ii. 73
— Marjoribanks in the service of, i. 288
— Seton in the service of, ii. 107
— T. C. on, i. 78, 105, 123, 295, 301
East Indies, the, Admiral Sir E. Hughes' command in, i. 304
— Dutch ports in, i. 222
— French in, i. 232
East Lothian, i. 196
East Sheen, Caleb Whitefoord at, i. 29
— Coutts family at, i. 206, 238
Eaton Hall, Gibbs Crawford of, i. 115 *note*
Economic Reform, Pitt's speech on, i. 134
Eden, Mr and Mrs. *See* Lord and Lady Auckland
Eden, William, Commissioner for America, i. 103 *note*
— T. C. on, i. 108
Edenhall, Sir William Musgrave of, i. 39
Edgeworth, Maria, her *Tales*, ii. 296
Edinburgh, Archibald Stuart, Lord Provost of, i. 66; ii. 46
— birth of T. C. in, i. 20
— Burdett on, ii. 123
— Charles Edward's entry into, i. 12
— Colonel Crawfurd in, i. 135, 300; ii. 18, 19, 23, 25
— Dr Spens in, ii. 90
— Duchess of Gordon in, i. 29 *note*
— Duke of. *See* Duke of Gloucester
— Dundas burnt in effigy in, ii. 13
— Erskine in, ii. 374-6
— High School, i. 21, 183 *note*
— invasion scare in, ii. 220
— James Coutts, M.P. for, i. 39, 40, 68
— John Coutts & Co., i. 49, 50 *note*
— John Coutts, Lord Provost of, i. 3, 10-13; ii. 373
— Lord Cassillis in, ii. 11
— old and new towns of, ii. 215
— Patrick Coutts, merchant in, i. 9
— President's Stairs, i. 38, 49
— Ramsay in, i. 196, 280
— riots in, i. 126
— Roscius, ii. 97
— Scottish National Portrait Gallery, ii. 379 *note*
Edinburgh, Sir Grey Cooper in, i. 96 *note*
— Stewart, M.P. for, i. 63
— Sultan Katti Gheri in, ii. 380 *note*
— T. C. in, i. 116, 155, 303
Edinburgh University, ii. 381
— Alexander Monro, Principal of, i. 85 *note*
Edinburgh Testaments quoted, i. 9 *note*
Edrom, Berwickshire, i. 10
Edward VII., King, promotes the *entente cordiale*, ii. 149
Eglinton, Lord, his horse, i. 277
Egypt, French aspirations in, i. 232
— Lady Hester Stanhope in, ii. 348
Elcho, Lord, in Paris, i. 258
— T. C. visits, ii. 67, 68
— T. C. writes to, on behalf of Clementina, ii. 27, 45
Eldon, John Scott, Lord Chancellor, his bill for trial by jury, i. 201 *note*
— M.P. for Boroughbridge, ii. 126
— on the Speaker's warrant, ii. 263
Electoral reform in Scotland, ii. 16, 22
— proposed, i. 163 *note*, 194
Eliot, Harriet Hester, daughter of Edward J., 206 *note*
— T. C. on, ii. 346
Elizabeth, Queen, at Kirtling Hall, ii. 77
— T. C. on, ii. 303
Elliot, Admiral John, his career, i. 65 *and note*
— his wager with James Coutts, i. 65
Elliot, Sir Gilbert, Commissioner at Toulon, ii. 38
— draws on Messrs Coutts, ii. 83, 84
— grandfather of 1st Earl of Minto, i. 13
— his *Life and Letters* quoted, i. 65 *note*
— his marriage, i. 222 *note*
— ignores Burdett, ii. 121
— on Sir Grey Cooper, i. 96 *note*
— T. C.'s friendship with, i. 186 *note*, 303
Elliot, Isaac, witness, ii. 231, 286
Elliott, Sir George, supports Alexander Trotter, ii. 213
Elliston, actor, the *Times* on, ii. 291

England, at war with France, ii. 24
— finances of, ii. 59-63, 80
— her alliance with Holland and Prussia, i. 247
— her commerce, ii. 377
— her naval power, i. 110, 114, 118-121, 134; ii. 54-6, 58
— Lady H. Stanhope on, ii. 355, 358, 360-2
— makes peace with America, i. 64, 148 *note*
— makes peace with France, 1783, i. 162
— threatened invasion of, ii. 54, 75, 80, 86, 99; ii. 219-21
English Bards and Scotch Reviewers, Byron's, quoted, i. 39 *note*
Entwisle, Mrs, her career, ii. 230-4
— her death, ii. 332 *and note*
Entwisle, Thomas, Harriot Mellon's relations with, ii. 275, 292, 295, 296, 332 *note*
— marries Sarah Mellon, ii. 230-3, 285, 286
— postmaster at Cheltenham, ii. 238, 239, 241
Ernest, Prince, visits T. C., ii. 57
Erskine, Cardinal, his career, ii. 53 *note*
— T. C. interests in the Countess d'Alberstroff, ii. 7, 53, 68, 133, 142
Erskine, Henry, of Amondell, King's Advocate, i. 168 *note*
Erskine, Thomas, Lord, Adam entertains, ii. 374
— Advocate and Lord Chancellor, i. 13, 272
— consults with T. C., i. 168
— defends Queen Caroline, ii. 375-8
— gratifies Gentleman Smith, ii. 387
— his friendship with T. C., ii. 81, 363, 375-8
— his *Abuses in the Army*, i. 75
— on free trade, ii. 377
— on Lord Buchan, i. 168 *note*
Escudier's *Cantatrices Célèbres*, i. 236 *note*
Espinasse, Seigneur d', ii. 230
Estaign, Comte d', commands a French squadron, i. 111, 115, 118
Esten, Mrs, T. C. on, i. 265
Eton College, i. 183 *note*
— Robert Burdett at, ii. 268
Eton College, Pop, ii. 388
— William Smith at, ii. 305, 384
Every One has his Fault, Miss Mellon in, ii. 282
Evesham, Vale of, i. 241
Exchequer Bills, sale of, ii. 88
Excise, T. C. on the Scottish, i. 278-281
Exeter, Lord Bute in, ii. 280
Eyre, contests Morpeth, i. 41, 42

F

Facts and their Consequences submitted to the Consideration of the Public at Large, by Lord Stair, i. 156 *note*
Falkland, Pope on, ii. 302
Fallofield, Rev. W., marries T. C. and H. Mellon, ii. 320
Falmouth, Duke of Orleans at, ii. 221
Farmers-General of France, their negotiations for tobacco, i. 48, 103
Farquharson, actor, ii. 232
Farren, Miss, actress, Miss Mellon understudies, ii. 234, 235
Farrer, James, his illness, ii. 224
Fawkener, William, his marriage, ii. 388
Fawkner, actor, T. C. on, ii. 304
Fell, Alice, her cloak, ii. 394
Ferguson Adam, his *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic*, i. 165 *note*
— his letter to T. C., ii. 218
Ferguson, Mrs, dines with T. C., ii. 185
Fife, T. C. in, i. 197
Fife, Lord, at Brighton, ii. 186
Fine Acting, or a Sketch of the Life of Miss H. M., etc., ii. 243, 244, 317 *note*
Firth of Forth, Dysart on the, i. 137 *note*
Fitzclarence, Lord Frederick, his marriage, ii. 197 *and note*
Fitzclarence, Major George, his military career, ii. 192 *and note*
Fitzclarence, Lieut. Henry, his military career, ii. 192 *note*
Fitzgerald, Lord Edward, is cashiered, ii. 20

Fitzgerald, Keane, winner in the Adelphi lottery, i. 72
Fitzgerald, Lord Robert, T. C.'s letter to, ii. 27, 45
Fitzherbert, Mrs, her marriage, ii. 60
— on T. C., i. 261
— sells Castle Hill to the Duke of Kent, ii. 168
Fitzpatrick, Colonel, at the Whig Club, ii. 387
Fitzpatrick, Richard, his career, i. 215 *note*
— his partnership with Fox, i. 208-210, 215, 218, 219
Fitzwilliam, Lord, his town house, ii. 5, 44, 125
— recall of, ii. 74
— travels abroad, i. 39
Flanders, command of General Sinclair in, i. 137 *note*
Flood attacks Townshend's Viceroyalty, i. 71 *note*
Florence, Alexander Trotter at, ii. 215
— Burdett in, ii. 124
— Hervey in, i. 263
— Sir G. Staunton in, ii. 7
— Stewart Mackenzie in, i. 86
— T. C. in, i. 282
Florida, East, Prevost, Governor of, i. 119 *note*
Flushing, Lady Stuart's death at, ii. 260
Foley family, the, their recklessness, ii. 61, 81
Fontainebleau, Treaty of, i. 172 *note*, 192 *note*
Fontenoy, battle of, i. 61
Foote, Maria, actress, Miss Mellon compared with, ii. 236 *note*
Foote, Samuel, actor, ii. 389
— his friendship with Whitefoord, i. 64
Forbes, Hunter & Co., bankers, i. 23 *note*
Forbes, Sir William, his *Memoirs of a Banking-House* quoted, i. 3 *note*, 9, 23 *note*
— on Archibald Trotter, i. 21
— on Herries circular notes, i. 48, 49
— on James Coutts, i. 38, 42
— on John Coutts, i. 16, 17
— on Lord Provost Coutts, i. 11
Forbes, Sir William, on Patrick Coutts, i. 15
— partner of the Edinburgh banking-house, i. 16, 24, 47-9
— remits the excise, i. 278, 280
— severs his connection with the Coutts, i. 49
Foreign Office, Secret Service money, ii. 225
Foremark, Repton, seat of Burdett family, ii. 3, 98, 122
— T. C. and family at, ii. 4, 5, 32, 34, 35, 41-3
Forest of Dean, sale of, i. 105
Forfarshire, Commissioner for, i. 7
Fornham St Genevieve, Duke of Norfolk at, ii. 387
Forrester, Rachel, wife of Patrick Coutts, i. 9
Fortisson, Baronne de, ii. 147 *note*
Foster, Dr, attends Lady Louisa Gordon, i. 30
Foster, Lady Elizabeth, her brother, Lord Bristol, ii. 382
— her marriages, i. 261 *note*
— T. C.'s messages to, i. 261, 263
Foster, John Thomas, M.P., i. 261 *note*
Foulis, Munroes of, i. 167 *note*
Fouquet, Madame, i. 262
Four Fascinating Frenchwomen, Mrs Bearne's, i. 253 *note*
Fox, Charles James, as Secretary of State, i. 144 *note*, 216
— attends Coutts's ball, i. 262
— caricature of, ii. 127 *note*
— Coleridge on, ii. 77
— favours a Russian entente, ii. 8 *note*
— his coalition ministry, i. 146 *note*, 158, 161, 171, 174 *note*
— his correspondence with T. C., i. 214-9, 221, 240, 243-6, 281-4; ii. 218
— his defeat, ii. 73
— his duel with Adam, i. 127 *note*
— his friendship with T. C., i. 261
— his illness, ii. 223, 224
— his India Bill, i. 158, 169 *note*, 170; ii. 73
— his influence with the Prince, i. 261, 270
— his majority, i. 173
— his "martyrs," i. 179, 188

Fox, Charles James, his relations with the Duke of Portland, ii. 12 *note*, 20
— his rivalry with Pitt, ii. 12 *note*
— makes friends with North, ii. 73
— M.P. for Westminster, i. 183 *note*, 184, 208
— on Burdett's election, ii. 138
— on the Grand Tour, i. 39
— on Lord Guilford, ii. 76
— on the loss of Toulon, ii. 38
— opposes Pitt's Irish policy, i. 196 *note*
— supports the Prince of Wales, ii. 60
— T. C.'s financial assistance to, i. 131 *note*, 208-10, 214-9, 221, 240, 243-6
— T. C. on, ii. 22
Fox, Charles James, his *Siege of Toulon*, 1902; ii. 40 *note*
Fozards' riding school, i. 231, 255; ii. 9
France, abbeys of, i. 252 *note*, 273
— borrows from England, i. 192
— controls the Scheldt, i. 172 *note*, 192 *note*
— defended by Lady H. Stanhope, ii. 355
— fails to support Spain, i. 287 *note*
— her navy sails against the English, i. 111, 113, 114, 121, 134
— her relations with Holland, i. 213, 222, 223, 227-9
— loses Pondicherry, i. 167 *note*
— Patrick Coutts trades with, i. 9
— peace made with, 1783, i. 162 *note*
— supports the American colonies, i. 102-4, 138, 156 *note*, 160
— Walpole's acquaintance with, i. 299
— war with, ii. 3, 24, 37, 40, 218-20
Francis, Emperor of Austria, ii. 49
Francis Transport, wreck of the, ii. 168
Frankfort, Count Zenobio at, ii. 130, 131
Franklin, Benjamin, his influence on T. C., i. 88
— Whitefoord's friendship with, i. 64, 89
Frascati, Cardinal Duke o York at, ii. 111
— T. C. received by the Cardinal Duke of York at, i. 270-3; ii. 146
Fraser, Captain, on Fullerton, i. 6 *note*
Fraser, William, gardener, i. 129
Frauncys, William, of Foremark, ii. 4, 122
Frederick, Prince of Wales, his banking account, i. 252, 261 *note*
— his death, ii. 145
— his sons, i. 68 *note*, 92 *note*
French Court, the Misses Coutts at the, i. 251
French fleet at Toulon, ii. 38, 40
— sails against Nelson, ii. 103
French Loan, T. C. on the, i. 173
French ministers, their desire for peace, i. 102
French Republic, army of, ii. 37-40
— its Convention with the Vatican, ii. 53 *note*
— threaten to invade England, ii. 99, 106
— T. C. on, ii. 21
— the first war with, i. 172 *note*; ii. 55-8, 70, 74, 80, 132
French Revolution, the, Lord Macartney on, i. 292
— outbreak of, i. 234; ii. 1, 3, 4, 123, 124
— ruins the Cardinal Duke, i. 128 *note*; ii. 110
— T. C. on, i. 88
Fribourg, Countess d'Alberstroff at, ii. 45, 68, 95, 105, 128
Fulham Churchyard, Starkie family buried in, i. 34
Fullerton, near Montrose, history of, i. 6 *and note*
Fullerton, Colonel John, his duel with Lord Shelburne, i. 127 *and note*
Furness, Katharine, daughter of Sir Robert, ii. 70 *note*
Fuseli, Henry, his relations with T. C., ii. 389, 390, 393

G

Gainsborough, Thomas, his Duchess of Devonshire, ii. 206
Galway, Lord, minister in Munich, i. 165
Garlies, Lord, contests Morpeth, i. 40
Garnkirk, Dunlop family of, i. 9

Garrick, David, as *Macbeth*, i. 257
— as manager, ii. 305 *note*, 385
— his friendship with Whitefoord, i. 64
— mourning ring of, ii. 389
Garthshore, Dr Maxwell, landlord of T. C., i. 35, 66
Garthshore, Mrs, in Bath, ii. 22 *note*
Garvock Hill, i. 5
Gasthart, Mrs. *See* Garthshore
Gatton, constituency of, i. 141, 149; ii. 127
Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, The, ii. 20 *note*
Gem, The, ii. 228 *note*
Genealogical History of the Stuarts, The, by Andrew Stuart, ii. 112
Genealogical Memoirs of the Families of Colt and Coutts, by the Rev. Chas. Rogers, LL.D., i. 3 *note*, 4
General Elliot, S.S., i. 243
Genest, *History of the Stage*, ii. 237, 277 *note*, 282
Geneva, death of the Marquess of Bute in, i. 142
— Duke of Kent in, ii. 148
— T. C. at, i. 241, 246, 255
Genoa, Burdett in, ii. 124
Gentleman's Magazine, The, i. 142; ii. 76, 116
— on Lord Dudley Stuart, ii. 384
— on Miss Peagrim, i. 53
— Steven's contributions to, ii. 64 *note*
George II., King, client of Messrs Coutts, i. 252, 261
George III., King, anniversary of his coronation celebrated, ii. 29, 30
— at Cheltenham, i. 248, 249
— at Kew, ii. 185
— client of Messrs Coutts, i. 51, 88, 252, 260, 270; ii. 127, 145
— exports specie to Germany, ii. 75
— grants a pension to the Cardinal Duke of York, ii. 109, 111, 112, 146
— his death, i. 257; ii. 160, 186, 187
— his breach with Lord North, i. 161 *note*; ii. 72, 74
— his favourite brother, the Duke of York, i. 68 *note*, 69 *note*
— his gifts to the Chinese Emperor, i. 290
George III., King, his insanity, i. 32 *note*, 251, 259-65, 269
— his kindness to Fanny Coutts, i. 228, 230, 240
— his relations with Chatham, and his American policy, i. 90, 99, 104, 125
— his relations with his son, ii. 60
— his sons, ii. 148, 152, 156, 176, 179, 183
— his willingness to cede Gibraltar, i. 162 *note*
— influenced by Bute, i. 13, 51 *and note*, 142
— on Fox's election, i. 183 *note*
— on the Stuarts, i. 272
— opposes Fox's India Bill, i. 170 *note*, 174
— opposes Keppel's promotion, i. 118 *note*
— petitions against his influence, i. 127 *note*
— pensions the Cardinal of York, i. 128 *note*
— recognises the independence of America, i. 155
— suggests a conference between Pitt and the Duke of Portland, i. 174
— T. C.'s attitude to, i. 158
— T. C.'s interviews with, i. 270, 272, 276, 294, 298
George IV., King, Adam, Attorney-General to, ii. 374
— at Brighton, ii. 186
— at Cowes, ii. 186
— as Regent, i. 264
— client of T. C., ii. 24, 59, 60, 145, 146, 186
— Colonel Crawfurd addresses, i. 275, 277; ii. 23, 24, 26
— Colonel Macmahon, equerry to, ii. 238
— Dr Warren attends, i. 57 *note*
— his debts, ii. 59-61, 64, 65, 91
— his friendship with Fox, i. 209
— his proposed divorce, ii. 184, 187
— in Ireland, ii. 188
— on Mrs Coutts's remarriage, ii. 399, 400
— T. C.'s relations with, i. 251, 260, 270; ii. 24, 183, 185, 189, 329
George V., King, ii. 156
Georgia, conquest of, i. 119 *note*

German politics, French hold aloof from, i. 102
Germany, prospect of war in, 1784, i. 191
Ghent, Charles Edward at, ii. 47
Gib, James, Jacobite, i. 12
Gibbs, Sir Vicary, Attorney-General, ii. 263
Gibraltar, death of James Coutts at, i. 42, 53, 105
— Duke of Kent in, ii. 148, 152-8, 160-77
— proposed cession of, i. 67
— retained by England, i. 162 *note*
— siege of, ii. 117, 118
Gight, Gordons of, i. 30 *note*
Gilbanks, George, curate, ii. 231, 286
Gillray, his caricature of *The New Morality*, ii. 87, 122
Glamorganshire, invasion of, ii. 219
Glasgow, John Crawfurd at, i. 132, 173, 177, 179
— last archbishop of, i. 137 *note*
— Northwoodside, i. 9
— T. C. in, i. 198, 296, 300
Glasgow, George, 4th Earl of, client of John Campbell, i. 37
— his daughter's marriage, ii. 197 *note*
Glastonbury, James, Baron, i. 87 *note*, 178 *note*
Glen, The, Duke of Gordon at, i. 30
Gloucester, Matson near, i. 248
Gloucester, William Frederick, Duke of, his tutor, ii. 116
Gloucester, William Henry, Duke of, drains the Treasury, i. 92
— his marriage, i. 92 *note*
Glynllifon Park, seat of Lord Newborough, T. C. at, ii. 29-31
Goddard, Eleanor, Miss Mellon's duenna, ii. 242, 397
Goddard, Frederick William, in Switzerland, ii. 217 *note*
Goddle, Elizabeth, marries Captain Starkie, i. 34
Godwin, subscription for, in 1822, ii. 282
Gogar, Edinburgh, ii. 356 *note*
Goldsmith, Oliver, his friendship with Whitefoord, i. 64
— Johnson's epitaph on, ii. 28 *note*
Goldsmith's Company, the, their register, i. 37 *note*
Gonthier, Madame, Susan Coutts on, i. 236
Goodwin, Mr, ii. 369
Gordon, Admiral, President of a Scottish Club, i. 65
Gordon, Jane, Duchess of, her career, i. 29 *note*
— her letters to Mrs Coutts, i. 29, 31, 182
— her sons, ii. 185
— T. C. on, i. 301, 302
Gordon, 2nd Duke of, i. 303 *note*
Gordon, Alexander, 4th Duke of, his letter to Mrs Coutts, i. 29, 30
— T. C. visits, i. 182, 301-3
Gordon, George, 5th Duke of, as Marquis of Huntly, i. 31
Gordon, Lady Louisa, her ill-health, i. 30, 31, 301, 302
— her marriage, i. 29 *note*, 30 *note*
Gordon, Lady Madelina, her marriages, i. 31 *note*
Gordon, Lord Adam, ii. 17
— T. C. visits, i. 303
Gordon, Lord George, of riot fame, i. 224, 303 *note*; ii. 185
Gordon, Lord William, equerry to the Prince Regent, ii. 183, 185, 188
— his salary as Vice-Admiral of Scotland, i. 223-6, 229
— his uncle, i. 303 *note*
Gosfield Hall, seat of the Marquis of Buckingham, i. 199
Gosling, Mr, banker, subscribes to the loyalty loan, ii. 83
Government loans, T. C. on, i. 181, 184, 185
Gower, Frederick Leveson, on his grandmother, ii. 206
Gower, Grenville, Earl, i. 175 *note*. *See* 1st Marquis of Stafford
Graeme, uncle of Clementina Walkinshaw, ii. 47
Grafton, Duke of, supports the candidacy of James Coutts, i. 40, 42, 68
Graham family, the, Miss Mellon's friendship with, ii. 241, 242
Graham, Aaron, police magistrate at Bow Street, his friendship with Miss Mellon, ii. 275, 283, 290, 292 *note*, 299, 300
Graham, James, Marquis of, Lord of the Treasury, i. 174

Grampian Mountains, the, i. 5, 6
Granada, fall of, i. 111, 121
Grant, father of Grant Raymond, ii. 321
Gravesend, ii. 131
Greene, Lord Cornwallis' victory over, i. 125, 135 *note*
Greenlaw, i. 155
Greenwich, barony of, i. 69 *note*
Greenwood, partner of Messrs Cox, ii. 168
Grenville, General, on T. C.'s horse, i. 213
Grenville, George, Lord, as First Lord of the Treasury, i. 51 *note*, 87 *note*, 91, 143 *note*
— attends a ball at Windsor, ii. 23
— employs Wickham, ii. 66 *note*
— his influence sought by T. C., i. 272, 298
— Lord Colchester on, ii. 75
— T. C. on, i. 87
— Thomas Grenville's letter to, ii. 133
— Viscount Howick's note to, ii. 225
Grenville, Lady Hester, her marriage, i. 91, 178 *note*; ii. 347
— in Bath, i. 98
Grenville, James, his connection with Lord Stair, i. 178
— T. C. on, i. 87
Grenville, Nugent, T. C. on, i. 87. *See* Lord Buckingham
Grenville, Richard, of Wotton, his children, i. 87 *note*, 91, 178 *note*
Grenville, Thomas, on Coutts and Burdett, ii. 133
Grenville, William Wyndham, his career, i. 170 *note*
— his tract, i. 143
— in Paris, i. 222, 223
Greville, Fulke, on Sir F. Burdett, ii. 121
Grey, Lord, his ball, i. 265
— on Queen Caroline, ii. 187
Grey, Sir Charles, his campaign in the West Indies, ii. 151
Grieving's a Folly, ii. 258
Grindelwald, T. C. in the, i. 255
Grodwell, Misses, of Preston, i. 26
Guadeloupe, capture of, ii. 151, 157
— Sir G. Staunton at, ii. 6 *note*
Guest, Sir Joshua, his command in 1745, i. 200 *note*
Guile, Lough, i. 289
Guilford, U.S.A., battle of, i. 135 *note*
Guilford, Francis, 1st Baron, Lord Keeper, ii. 72 *note*
Guilford, Dowager Lady, ranger of Bushey Park, ii. 70 *note*, 71
Guilford, earldom of, ii. 78 *note*
Guilford, George Augustus, 3rd Earl of, at Waldershare, ii. 82
— his career, ii. 72-8
— his death, ii. 204, 217
— his family vault, ii. 392
— his ill-health, ii. 76, 86, 98, 99, 101-5, 129, 135
— his marriage to Susan Coutts, i. 271; ii. 68-72, 76
— member of the Opposition, ii. 72-6, 86
Guilford, Francis, 4th Earl of, T. C.'s letter to, ii. 217
Guilford, Frederick, 5th Earl of, his letter to Caroline of Wales, ii. 199
Guilford, Susan, Countess of, ii. 79, 98
— at Brighton, ii. 196
— at Clifton, ii. 144, 165, 171
— at Hastings, ii. 220
— at Petersham, ii. 133-5, 139
— at Tunbridge Wells, ii. 296, 300
— at Worthing, ii. 257, 258
— her attitude to her father's remarriage, ii. 323-5, 328-45, 367-372, 382, 391
— her children, ii. 90, 94, 105, 129, 132, 328, 334
— her friendship with Lord Bristol, ii. 382
— her inheritance, ii. 369-72
— her kindness to Fuseli, ii. 390
— her relations with Harriot, ii. 242, 255, 276, 280, 287, 288, 290, 291, 316, 319
— her stepdaughter's marriage, ii. 182, 194
— lives with her father, ii. 267, 268, 275, 303, 307, 308, 328, 330
— Lord Bute's letter to, ii. 303
— T. C. visits, ii. 221
Gullane, Mrs Stuart of, ii. 90 *note*
Gullen, Cochranes of, i. 116, 200

H

Hackney, death of Patrick Coutts at, i. 16
— Newcome's Academy, i. 27
Hadspen, Bruton, T. C. at, ii. 221
Hague, the, French Ambassador at, i. 227
— Sir James Harris, minister at, i. 222 *note*
Haldimand House, Duke of Kent at, ii. 149
Hale, Mr, his bill in favour of the Duke of Kent, ii. 161
Haliburton, Thomas and Barbara, ancestors of Sir W. Scott, i. 9 *note*
Halifax, Duke of Orleans at, ii. 221
Halifax, N.S., Duke of Kent in, ii. 148, 152, 161
Halkerton, Alexander, Lord, his wife, ii. 32
Hall, Captain, his promotion, ii. 191
Hall, Lieutenant, his career, ii. 143
Hallgreen, Bervie, description of, i. 7, 8, 20
Hamburg, T. C.'s agents in, ii. 105
Hamilton family, the, ii. 46
Hamilton, Gavin, artist, assists Mr Townly, ii. 100 *note*
Hamilton, Lady Anne, attends Queen Caroline, ii. 202
Hamilton, Mr, assigns a security to T. C., i. 223, 226, 229
Hamlet, Raymond acts in, ii. 321
Hamp, G. & S., witnesses, ii. 315
Hampton, James Coutts of, i. 43
Hanger, Mr, supports Fox, ii. 73
Hanover, House of, i. 273
— loyalty to, ii. 30
— George III. in, i. 161 *note*
— Duke of Kent in, ii. 148
— Duke of York in, ii. 24
Hardinge, Judge, his letter quoted, ii. 158 *note*, 159
Hardy, Admiral Sir Charles, commands the Channel Fleet, i. 118, 120, 121
Hardy, Thomas, founds the London Correspondence Society, ii. 20 *note*
Hardy, Thomas Duffus, *Memoirs of Lord Langdale*, ii. 121
Hardyman, Major, acts for the Duke of Kent, ii. 161, 164, 170
Harland, Admiral Sir Robert, refuses to be second in command, i. 118
Harman, Mr, T. C. on, ii. 82
Harris, Thomas, manager of Covent Garden Theatre, i. 240, 253-6, 265
Harrison, arranges Queen Caroline's allowance, ii. 200-2
Harrogate, Adam Drummond in, i. 75
— Harriot Mellon at, ii. 232
Harrow, education at, i. 183 *note*
Harrowby, Dudley Ryder, 1st Earl of, Treasurer of the Navy, ii. 214
Hartington, Lord. *See* 6th Duke of Devonshire
Hartleap Well, i. 224 *note*
Hartley, David, his financial policy, i. 123
— his *Letters on the American War*, i. 123 *note*
Hartley, Mrs, her trip to Paris, ii. 389
Hartwell, Bucks, Louis XVIII. at, i. 199 *note*
Harwich, ii. 377
— Bradshaw M.P. for, i. 69
Hastings, Lady Guilford at, ii. 220
Hastings, Marquis of, his daughter Sophia, ii. 116
Hastings, Warren, Governor-General of India, ii. 97 *note*
— his trial, i. 240, 246
— his wife's finances, i. 245
— succeeded by Macpherson, i. 191
Hatchetts, King's coachmakers, ii. 284
Hatfield, seat of Lord Salisbury, i. 199
Hawkesbury, Robert Bankes, Baron, his treatment of Coutts, ii. 128, 133-8 *See* Earl of Liverpool
Haydon, Benjamin Robert, Coutts' assistance to, ii. 393
Hayes, Lady Chatham at, i. 93, 95, 98, 100
— Thomas Walpole at, i. 299
Hazlitt, William, on Erskine, ii. 376
Heard, Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King-of-Arms, ii. 230
Heigelin, Messrs Cutler &, of Naples, ii. 7
Henley-upon-Thames, i. 145
Henri IV., King of France, at Coutras, ii. 149

Henry VIII., King, i. 69 *note*; ii. 33, 77
Henry of Prussia, Prince, at T. C.'s ball, i. 262
Herefordshire, i. 241
Herries, Margaret. *See* Mrs Barron-Wilson, ii. 227
Herries, Robert, opens the London Exchange Banking Company, i. 48
— partner of James and Thomas Coutts, i. 24, 47
— severs connection with Messrs Coutts, i. 49
Hertel, Catherine, her marriage, ii. 150
Hervey, his correspondence with T. C., i. 263
Hervey, Lord Arthur, Bishop of Bath and Wells, ii. 382
Hessian troops in the Isle of Wight, ii. 74
Hewins, Professor W. S. A., edits the *Whitefoord Papers*, i. 63
Hickman, Herbert Windsor, his daughter's marriage, ii. 116
Highcliffe, Lord Bute at, i. 291
Hinchinbroke, Viscount, his daughter, ii. 385
Hippisley, Sir John Coxe, his marriage and career, i. 128 *and note*; ii. 7 *note*
— his services on behalf of the Cardinal of York, ii. 110-2
— obtains concessions for the Irish Catholics, ii. 53 *note*
— on the Countess d'Alberstroff, ii. 49
Historical Commission, The, ii. 51 *note*, 73 *note*
History of the Adelphi, by Austin Brereton, i. 43
History of Edinburgh, by William Maitland, i. 11 *note*
History of England, by W. E. H. Lecky, i. 127 *note*, 135 *note*, 196 *note*
History of English Lotteries, A, by John Ashton, i. 71 *note*
History of London, by William Maitland, i. 11 *note*
History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic, Ferguson's, i. 165 *note*
Hoare, Messrs, bankers, subscribe to the Loyalty Loan, ii. 83
Hoare, Messrs, bankers, their correspondence with Messrs Coutts, i. 35
Hobart, Maria Frances Mary, her marriage, ii. 72
Hobhouse, Sir Benjamin, T. C. consults, i. 81
Hobhouse, Sir John Cam, i. 81 *note*. *See* Lord Broughton
Hogarth William,, his *Marriage à la mode*, i. 13; ii. 59
Hogg, Mrs, dresser at Drury Lane, ii. 248
Holland, at war with England, i. 134, 139, 144, 160, 172; ii. 95 *note*, 132
— Duke of Brunswick in, ii. 39
— English alliance with, i. 247
— French troops in, ii. 57
— its control of the Scheldt, i. 172, 192 *note*
— unrest due to French party in, i. 210, 212, 213, 222, 227-9
Holland, H., correspondent of T. C., ii. 34
Holland, Lady, calls on T. C., ii. 224
Holland, Lord, Byron's appeal to, ii. 321
— his house at King's Gate, ii. 55, 56
— his illness, i. 263
— his *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, ii. 121
— on Lord Guilford, ii. 76, 78
— T. C. on, i. 78
Holly Lodge, Highgate, i. 34
— Miss Mellon at, ii. 259, 291, 294, 298-300, 304, 311, 312, 325, 327
— T. C. at, ii. 156, 181-4, 193, 243, 328, 329, 335, 339, 340, 370, 372
— Stuart family at, i. 60
Holyhead, Duke of Rutland at, i. 175
Home, James, of Cowdenknowes, ii. 381
Home, John, T. C.'s letter to, ii. 220
Home, Mrs, of Wedderburn, at Cheltenham, i. 241, 242, 247
Home, Patrick, T. C.'s letters to, i. 257, 258; ii. 139-41
Honeymoon, Tobin's, Volante in, ii. 238, 239
Hood, Viscount, at Toulon, ii. 30, 36 *note*, 38, 40
— contests Westminster, i. 183 *note*

Hooper, Dr, attends Lord Erskine, ii. 376
— attends T. C., ii. 323-6
Horace quoted, i. 35
Horner, defends Alexander Trotter, ii. 214
Horsham, Macpherson M.P. for, ii. 97 *note*
— Metcalfe, M.P. for, ii. 28 *note*
— T. C. at, ii. 257
Horton, Christopher, of Catton Hall, ii. 9 *note*
Horton, Mrs, her marriage, i. 92 *note*
Hotwells, the, Clifton, i. 128, 130, 246
Houghton, William B., witness, ii. 314, 317, 318
Hours of Idleness, by Lord Byron, i. 30 *note*
Howe, Lord, at Gibraltar, ii. 118
— his command in America, i. 74 *note*, 81, 86, 119
— his victory of the First of June, ii. 36 *note*, 54
— T. C. on, ii. 34, 36
Howick, Viscount, T. C.'s relations with, ii. 225
Howitz, Prince, entertains in Vienna, ii. 124
Hughes, Admiral Sir Edward, Misses Coutts visit, i. 304, 305; ii. 6
Hughes, Lady, her seat in Essex, i. 305 *note*
Hull, Hartley M.P. for, i. 123 *note*
Hume, David, *History of England*, ii. 392
Hume, Joseph, Trustee of the Duke of Kent, ii. 159
Hungerford, Ramsbury, near, ii. 122
Hunt, William, M.A., D.Litt., *The Political History of England* quoted, i. 51 *note*, 133 *note*, 161 *note*
Hunter, James, banker, i. 23 *note*, 24, 47. *See* J. Hunter Blair
— severs his connection with the Coutts, i. 49
Huntly, George Gordon, Marquis of, at Gordon Castle, i. 30, 31
— at Salthill, ii. 23
Huntroyd, Lancaster, i. 33
Hurley, T. C. invited to, i. 145, 146
Huskisson, Mr, arranges Queen Caroline's allowance, ii. 200
Hutchison, ii. 304
Hyder Ali, campaign against, i. 167 *note*
Hyson tea, tax on, i. 188

I

Ickworth, seat of Lord Bristol, T. C. at, ii. 305-7, 384, 393
Ilchester, Johnstone M.P. for, i. 103
Ilfracombe, T. C. at, ii. 218-20
Imhoff, Baron, his divorced wife, i. 245 *note*
India, David Ross in, i. 286
— Lieutenant Hall in, ii. 144
— Lord Guilford offered Governor-Generalship of, ii. 75
— Lord Macartney in, i. 292
— Macpherson and Cornwallis Governors-General of, ii. 97 *note*
— rebellion in, ii. 1
— Seton in, ii. 107, 108
— T. C. on, i. 305; ii. 6, 11
— Warren Hastings, Governor-General of, i. 191; ii. 97 *note*
— Wellesley, Governor-General of, ii. 107 *note*
India Bill, Fox's, i. 158, 169 *note*, 173
India Commissioners, the, T. C. on, i. 189
Inveresk, Colt family of, i. 4
— T. C. at, i. 303
Inverneil, Sir A. Campbell of, i. 81 *note*
Inverness, invasion scare in, ii. 220
— Sir Hector Munro, M.P. for, i. 167 *note*
Ireland, Duke of Rutland, Lord-Lieutenant of, i. 175 *note*, 179, 190-7 *note*
— Fitzwilliam, Lord-Lieutenant of, ii. 74
— House of Commons in, ii. 151, 176
— its union with England, i. 181, 195-8
— Lord-Lieutenancy of, i. 39 *note*
— Marquis of Buckingham declines Lord-Lieutenancy of, i. 197, 199, 285

Ireland, Paymastership in, ii. 144
— Pitt's policy with regard to, i. 181
— rebellion in, ii. 1, 86, 93, 103
— Roman Catholic Episcopate, ii. 53
— T. C. on, i. 111, 122, 123, 181, 195-9; ii. 19, 93, 103
— threatened invasion of, ii. 221
— Viscount Townshend, Lord-Lieutenant of, i. 69 *note*, 71 *note*
— Wickham, Chief Secretary for, ii. 66 *note*
Isle of Bute, the, T. C.'s proposed visit to, i. 296, 300; ii. 12, 16, 17
Isle of Thanet, T. C. in the, i. 203
Isle of Wight, Hessian troops in the, ii. 74
Italy, Fox in, i. 262
— French army in, ii. 80
Itinerary, Oulton's, i. 305 *note*

J

Jackson, Edith, *Annals of Ealing*, ii. 158 *note*
Jackson, John, his portrait of Gentleman Smith, ii. 387
Jackson, T. J., Lady H. Stanhope's letters to, ii. 357 *note*
Jacobins, the, T. C.'s relations with, ii. 3, 10, 120, 133, 140
— their principles, ii. 120, 131
Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, the, i. 8, 12, 20
Jacobites, the, their distrust of Clementina, ii. 48
Jaffa, Lady Hester Stanhope in, ii. 348, 356
James I., King, christens the British Bourse, i. 43
James II., King, his abdication, i. 273
— medal of, ii. 113
James Stuart, Clementina's appeal to, ii. 46, 49
Jealous Wife, The, Miss O'Neill in, ii. 386
Jekyll, Joseph, dines with T. C., ii. 183, 193 *and note*, 318 *note*
Jenings, Mr, ii. 296
Jenkins, Thomas, banker and picture-dealer in Rome, ii. 7, 53, 100 *note*
Jenkins, Thomas, witness of Coutts's marriage, i. 26 *and note*
Jenkinson, Charles, on Fox, ii. 73. *See* Earl of Liverpool
Jenner, Dr, attends Mrs Entwisle, ii. 332
Jerusalem, Lady Hester Stanhope at, ii. 350
Johnshaven, i. 5
Johnson, bookseller, ii. 389
Johnson, Dr Samuel, at Lord Auchinleck's, i. 248 *note*
— Boswell's *Life* of, i. 142
— his acquaintance with Sir G. Staunton, ii. 6 *note*
— his approval of Whitefoord, i. 64
— his epitaph on Goldsmith, ii. 28 *note*
— Lord Macartney's friendship with, i. 289
— on going to Scotland, i. 182
— upholds Lord Cardross, ii. 378
Johnson, William, *alias* of Charles Edward Stuart, ii. 47
Johnstone, George, M.P., as Commissioner for America, i. 103 *note*
Johnstone, John Henry, actor, ii. 97
Jolly Duchess, The, by C. C. Pearce, ii. 284, 285, 317, 396, 398
Jones, servant, ii. 271
Jones, Eleanor, daughter of William, ii. 122
Jones, John Gale, apothecary and agitator, ii. 261-3, 272
Jones, Lady, Burdett's letters to, ii. 122-4
Jones, Peggy, of Abergavenny, i. 165, 166
Jones, Sir William, his death, ii. 124
Jordan, Mrs, actress, i. 242
— her carriage, ii. 246 *note*
— in Brussels, ii. 309
— Miss Mellon understudies, ii. 234, 235
— T. C. on, ii. 289, 304, 309
Joseph, Emperor of Austria, abandons siege of Belgrade, i. 247
— his demand *re* the Scheldt, i. 172, 192
— joins the Quadruple Alliance, i. 232
Jourdan, General, his army, ii. 80
Journal, Paris, i. 237
Journals and Correspondence of Lord Auckland, quoted, i. 32 *note*

K

Katti Gheri, Sultan, in Edinburgh, ii. 380
Kean, Edmund, T. C. on, ii. 308
Keepsake, The, ii. 228 *note*
Keith, confidential clerk, i. 24
Keith, Sir Robert Murray, Ambassador at Vienna, Lord Mountstuart's letters to, ii. 117
Kelly, Earl of, musical composer, i. 21
Kemble, Charles, in Brussels, ii. 309
— thrashes Westmacott, ii. 285
Kemble, Fanny, attack on, ii. 285
Kemble, John, as *Macbeth*, i. 257
— in *Much Ado about Nothing*, ii. 234
— T. C. on, ii. 276, 290, 304, 309
Kemble's *Lodoiska*, ii. 299 *note*
Kempenfeldt, Admiral, i. 65
Kenas, actors, ii. 229-31
Kennedy, Captain Archibald, succeeds as 11th Earl of Cassillis, *q.v.*, ii. 11
Kennedy, Mr, Lady Mountstuart's communication with, i. 154
Kent, Edward Augustus, Duke of, his attempted army reforms, ii. 147-58
— his career, ii. 148-60
— his liaison with Mme. de St Laurent, ii. 147, 150, 151 *and note*
— T. C.'s relations with, ii. 147, 153, 156, 159-72, 178-80, 221
Kent, Victoria, Duchess of, her generosity to Mme. de St Laurent, ii. 151 *note*
— her letter to T. C., ii. 180
— her marriage, ii. 159
Keppel, Admiral, at Ushant, i. 118 *note*
— his patriotism impugned, i. 110, 118
— objects to the cession of Gibraltar, i. 162 *note*
Ker family, the, i. 62
Ker, Grissell, her letter to John Coutts, i. 18, 19
Ker, Margaret, wife of Sir John Stuart, i. 13
Kersfield, Miss Ker of, i. 18 *note*
Kew, Burdett at, ii. 127
— Edward, Duke of York at, i. 68 *note*
Kew, Prince Regent at, ii. 185
Kilmarnock, Lord, his execution, i. 61
King, Dr William, on Charles Edward and Clementina, ii. 48 51
King, William, 8th Lord, his marriage and title, i. 145 *note*
King's Gate, Isle of Thanet, T. C. at, ii. 55-7
King's Weston, T. C. at, i. 246
Kinglake, J. W., *Eothen*, ii. 346
— visits Lady H. Stanhope, ii. 349
Kirkcudbright, Queensberry's influence in, i. 284
Kirkfield, Sir James Stewart of, i. 168 *note*; ii. 376
Kirtling Hall, history and demolition of, ii. 77
Knight, Mr, Whitefoord's letter to, i. 270
Knockwinnock, i. 8
Kotzebue's *Stranger*, ii. 386 *note*

L

Laborde family in Paris, the, i. 266
Lacy, Mr, Fox on, i. 240, 241
— his box at Drury Lane, i. 253-6
Lafayette, General, invests Yorktown, i. 138 *note*
Lafitte, Messrs, ii. 353
La Grasse, battle of, ii. 37
Lainshaw, consults T. C., i. 284
Lake Country, The, by E. Lynn Linton, i. 224 *note*
Lamartine, visits Lady H. Stanhope, ii. 349
Lamb, Charles, caricature of, ii. 87
— *Mr H.* and Miss Mellon, ii. 282, 283
— on Lord Buchan, ii. 379 *note*
Lamb, Sir James, formerly Burges, ii. 167 *note*
Lamb, John, inventor of the Sinking Fund, i. 166 *note*
Lamb, Lady Caroline, her unconventionality, ii. 63 *note*
Lanark Burghs, Ross M.P. for, i. 118 *note*
Lancashire, prosperity in, i. 126, 137
Lancaster, Colonel Crawfurd at, i. 191
— T. C. in, i. 137

Land Tax, T. C. on the, i. 176
Lang, Andrew, on Clementina Walkinshaw, ii. 50
Langara, Admiral, commands the Spanish Fleet, ii. 38
Langdale, Lord, on Burdett, ii. 121, 124
Langeron, Madame, T. C. on, i. 260
Langham, William, grandson of Sir John, ii. 122
Lansdowne, Marquis of, his creation, i. 190
Last of the Royal Stuarts, The, by H. M. Vaughan, i. 273 *note*; ii. 53 *note*, 110, 111
Latakia, Lady H. Stanhope at, ii. 349
Latimer, William, ii. 272
Latymer, Francis Coutts, Lord, erects a tablet to Susannah Coutts, ii. 392
Lauderdale, Earl of, as a speaker, ii. 75 *note*
— Fox's letter to, ii. 138
— honours accruing to, i. 145
Lausanne, T. C. at, i. 255
Lavater, Fuseli studies under, ii. 389
— T. C. on, ii. 254
Lawrence, Sir Thomas, assisted by T. C., ii. 393
Leach, Sir John, dines with T. C., ii. 339
Lead ore, i. 103
Lecky, W. E. H., his *History of England* quoted, i. 127 *note*, 135 *note*, 196 *note*
Lee, General, defends Charleston, i. 80 *note*
Lee, Miss, her *Kruitzner* dramatized, ii. 206
Leeds, Francis Osborne, 5th Duke of, i. 259 *note*
Leek, Miss Mellon in, ii. 233
Lees, Edward Marjoribanks of, i. 13
— Sir Walter Scott at, ii. 396, 397
Leeward Island Fleet, return of the, i. 137
Leicester, Thomas Coke, Earl of, calls on T. C., ii. 267
Leicestershire, T. C. in, i. 136
Leigh, Starkie family of, i. 33
Leigh, Hon. Augusta, her mother, i. 259 *note*
Leith, John Stephen, wine-merchant at, i. 23
Lennox, Lieut.-Colonel, his duel with the Duke of York, i. 275-8
Leopold II., Emperor of Austria, Burdett presented to, ii. 124
Leopold, Prince, ii. 151 *note*
— dines with T. C., ii. 372, 373
Le Prisonnier Anglois, production of, i. 235
Leslie, C. G., his *Memoirs*, ii. 396
Lethbridge, Thomas, M.P. for Somersetshire, ii. 263
Letters on the American War, by David Hartley, i. 123 *note*
Letters to and from C. Kirkpatrick Sharpe, i. 14 *note*
Lewis, "Monk," his *Life and Correspondence*, ii. 227
Lexington, battle of, i. 74 *note*
Liége, birth of Charlotte Stuart at, ii. 47
Life of Garrick, Murphy's, ii. 393
Life of Johnson, Boswell's, ii. 116 *note*
Life of Napoleon Buonaparte, by Sir Walter Scott, ii. 99 *note*
Life of Pitt, by Lord Stanhope, i. 100 *note*, 163 *note*, 186 *note*; ii. 12 *note*
Life of Scott, Lockhart's, i. 63 *note*, 200 *note*, 248 *note*
Life of Thomas Coutts, Esq., i. 27
Lille, Patrick Coutts arrested at, i. 15
Lindsay, Sir Coutts, his ancestry, i. 13
Lindsey, Lady Charlotte, her letter to Caroline, Princess of Wales, ii. 199
Linton, E. Lynn, *The Lake Country*, i. 224 *note*
Linwood, Nicholas, contests Morpeth, i. 40
Lisbon as a winter resort, ii. 12
Lisle and Dudley, Philip, 1st Baron de, ii. 302 *note*
Lissanour, Lord Macartney of, i. 289, 290
Liston, Sir Robert, Ambassador at the Porte, ii. 356, 357
Littlehales, Sir Richard, Secretary at War in Ireland, ii. 144
Liverpool China Works, ii. 379
Liverpool, Duke of Orleans at, ii. 221

Liverpool, Mrs Siddons in, ii. 236
— T. C. in, i. 114
Liverpool, Countess of, her brother, Lord Bristol, ii. 382
Liverpool, Charles Jenkinson, 1st Earl of, as master of the Mint, i. 78 *and note*
Liverpool, Robert Banks, 2nd Earl of, arranges Queen Caroline's allowance, ii. 200-3
— his treatment of Burdett, ii. 128
— selects a laureate, ii. 393
Livingston, Mr, of Gibraltar, i. 105
Lloyd, Almon friend of, i. 123 *note*
Lloyd & Co., Messrs, bankers, lineal descendants of Messrs Coutts, i. 23 *note*, 49
Loans, Government, raised by Pitt, ii. 59-63, 82-4, 92, 102
Lockhart, Admiral Sir John Ross, his promotion, i. 118
Lockhart, J. G., *Life of Scott*, i. 63 *note*, 200 *note*, 248 *note*; ii. 375 *note*, 378 *note*, 396 *note*
Lockley Park, Berks, Charles Fysche Palmer of, i. 31 *note*
Lodoiska, production of, ii. 299 *note*
Logie, William Mayne of, i. 149 *note*
London, Adelphi, the, i. 43-6, 63, 71 *note*, 72
— anti-Catholic riots in, i. 130
— banks in the seventeenth century in, i. 36
— Carlton House, ii. 186, 193
— city of, its members of Parliament, i. 163 *note*
— Craven Street, i. 63, 64
— Crown and Anchor Tavern, ii. 20 *note*, 121
— Drury Lane Theatre, i. 235-6
— Durham House and Yard, i. 43, 44
— Exchange Banking Company, i. 48
— Great Fire of, i. 25 *note*
— Green Park Lodge, ii. 185
— James Street, i. 45
— Jeffreys Square, i. 23, 25
— John Street, i. 44-6
— Kensington Palace, Duke of Kent at, ii. 156, 157, 159, 177, 179, 180
— Little Russell Street, ii. 234, 239, 241, 245, 306
— Marylebone Fields, i. 71 *note*
London, Newgate, ii. 262, 272
— Pall Mall, ii. 34
— Piccadilly, ii. 34, 35, 125, 261
— Robert Street, i. 44
— Royal Exchange, i. 131
— Savile Street, i. 161
— Signe of the Three Crownes, i. 36, 43, 49
— Southampton Street, Covent Garden, ii. 328, 335
— St Alban's Tavern, i. 65
— St Gregory's Church, i. 25
— St James's Palace, ii. 179, 192
— St James's Park, i. 228, 230
— St James's Street, i. 48, 243
— 80 St Martin's Lane, i. 27, 35, 66
— St Paul's Cathedral, ii. 9 *note*
— Strand, i. 43
— Stratton Street, i. 34; ii. 5, 44, 69, 156, 181-5, 192, 200, 204, 305, 310, 322, 328-37, 367, 372, 390, 391
— Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, i. 253-6
— Tower of, ii. 122
— — Burdett's imprisonment in, ii. 261-76
— Westminster Abbey, ii. 96 *note*
— William Street, i. 44-6
London Correspondence Society, the, ii. 11 *note*, 20 *note*
London County Council, tenants of Lord Salisbury, i. 43
London Gazette, The, account of fire at Crawfurdland in, i. 129
— read by T. C., i. 133; ii. 95
Lonefoot, fire at, i. 129 *note*
Longman & Brodrip, Messrs, ii. 90
Lonsdale, James, 1st Earl of, his marriage, ii. 257 *note*
Lonsdale, Mary, Countess of, in Worthing, ii. 257, 258
Lord Macartney, our First Ambassador in China, by Helen H. Robbins, i. 290 *note*; ii. 7 *note*, 84 *note*
Lotteries, Government, i. 70 *and note*, 122, 189
Lottery tickets, ii. 244-8
Loughborough, Lord, as Lord Chancellor, ii. 12 *note*, 20
— educated in Edinburgh, i. 21
Louis XV., King, Duchess of Albany presents a *mémoire* to, ii. 45, 51

Louis XVI., King, assents to the legitimation of the Duchess of Albany, ii. 50
— Duc de Polignac's influence with, i. 252, 267
— his fate, ii. 10
Louis XVII., King, ii. 30
Louis XVIII., King, his letters to T. C., ii. 151 *note*, 221
— in exile, i. 199 *note*
Louise of Stolberg, wife of Charles Edward, ii. 50
Lovel, in *The Antiquary*, i. 8
Lovelace, Lords, of Hurley, i. 145 *note*, 146
Low, James G., *Notes on the Coutts Family*, quoted, i. 3 *note*, 5
Low Countries, the, campaign of 1793-4 in, ii. 157
Loyalty Loan, the, ii. 62, 82-4, 89
Lucas, at Bath, i. 247
Lucas, E. V., his *Life of Charles Lamb*, ii. 379 *note*
Lucerne, ii. 32
Lucerne, T. C. in, i. 255
— Wordsworth at, ii. 217 *note*
Lundie, Baron Duncan of, ii. 95 *note*
Luneberg, Duke of Kent at, ii. 148
Luton Hoe Park, Lady Bute at, ii. 223, 224, 308
— T. C. at, ii. 141, 253
Luxborough, Robert, Lord, his seat in Essex, i. 305
Luynes, Duchesse de, T. C.'s introduction to, i. 263
Lyceum Theatre, the, Miss Mellon appears at, ii. 299, 300
— T. C.'s box at, ii. 277, 281, 288, 300
Lydden, Kent, ii. 70 *note*
Lyons, ii. 19
— Earl of Carlisle in, i. 39 *note*
— T. C. at, i. 241, 255

M

Macartney, George, "Black," proclaims William and Mary in Belfast, i. 289
Macartney, George, Earl of, approaches Lord Ossory, i. 186 *note*, 209, 218, 219
Macartney, George, Governor of Madras, i. 167 *note*, 289
— his career, i. 289, 290
— his embassy to China, i. 46, 290; ii. 6 *note*
— his gift of "China" paper to T. C., i. 46, 290
— his correspondence with T. C., i. 289-93; ii. 84
— patron of Sir G. Staunton, ii. 6 *note*
Macartney, Jane, Countess of, daughter of Lord Bute, i. 289, 291
— her correspondence with T. C., i. 290, 291
Macaulay, Lord, his *Critical Essays*, quoted, i. 245 *note*
Macbeth, Garrick and Kemble as, i. 257
Macdonald, Sir Reginald, of Staffa, his marriage, ii. 107 *note*
Mackenzie, Rt. Hon. James Stuart, arbitrates between James and Thomas Coutts, i. 51, 52
— holder of the privy seal of Scotland, i. 51 *note*
Mackenzie, Stuart, his correspondence with T. C., i. 86
Macklin, on Mrs Esten, i. 265
Macklin's *Bible*, ii. 392
Mackworth, Frances, daughter of Herbert, ii. 32
M'Mahon, Colonel, equerry to the Prince of Wales, ii. 238, 342
M'Namara, Mr, in Paris, ii. 48
Macpherson, James, alleged translator of Ossian, ii. 97 *note*
Macpherson, Sir John, Governor-General of India, i. 191 *note*
— his career, ii. 97 *note*
— in society, ii. 97, 100, 101
— in Vienna, ii. 124
Madden, Miss A. M., Miss Sheridan's letter to, ii. 228
Madras, British Commander at, i. 190
— Campbell, Governor of, i. 81 *note*
— Macartney, Governor of, i. 167 *note*, 289
Madras Infantry, the, ii. 229
Madrid, Lord Bute Ambassador in, ii. 68, 69
— Lord Mountstuart Ambassador at, i. 142; ii. 116
— Sir Alexander Munro, Consul-General at, i. 167 *note*, 172

Maestricht taken by the French, ii. 57
Magna Charta, picture by Baillie, i. 10 *note*
— violation of, ii. 262, 264, 268
Mahon, Lord, Lord Chatham stays with, i. 107
Mahrattas, T. C. on the, ii. 6
Maidenhead, i. 145
Mainwaring, banker, contests Brentford, ii. 127
Maitland, Major, his command, i. 119
Maitland, William, his statements *re* John Coutts, i. 11 *note*
Malmesbury, James Harris, Earl of, as Minister at the Hague, i. 222 *note*
— his *Diaries and Correspondence*, ii. 75 *note*
Malone, Edmund, executor of Sir J. Reynolds, ii. 28
Malta, Lady H. Stanhope at, ii. 348
Malton, Burke M.P. for, ii. 28 *note*
Malvern, T. C. at, ii. 115
Malvern Hill, T. C. at, i. 241, 242
Malvern Hills, Byron on, i. 45
Maniatti, buys the Villa d' Este, ii. 198
Manners, Thomas, Baron, his creation, i. 160 *note*
Mannheim, i. 283
Mar Elias, Lady H. Stanhope at, ii. 349
Margate, Marquis of Buckingham at, i. 199
— T. C. at St Peter's, near, i. 203 *note*, 204
Marian, production of, i. 242
Marie Antoinette, Queen, Duchess de Polignac's influence with, i. 252
— her fate, ii. 10
Marjoribanks, Captain, at Cheltenham, i. 241
— his promotion, i. 274, 288
Marjoribanks, Sir Edmund, delivers a draft to Queen Caroline, ii. 201, 202
— his synopsis of old leases, i. 44 *note*
— on Adam Drummond, i. 75 *note*
— on John Campbell, i. 36 *note*
— owner of "Viper," ii. 169
— T. C. on, ii. 222
Marjoribanks, Sir Edmund, T. C.'s correspondence with, i. 247
Marjoribanks, Edward, of Lees, i. 13
Marjoribanks, Sir John, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, ii. 396
Markeaton, Mundy of, T. C. and family visit, ii. 41
Marlborough, Earl of Chatham at, i. 89
Marra of Zerbino, ii. 380
Marseilles, ii. 19
Martindale, his faro table, ii. 207
Martinique, capture of, ii. 151, 157
Martyr, Mrs, T. C.'s relations with, ii. 284, 285
Mary, Princess, T. C. honoured by, ii. 329 *note*
Mary, Queen, raises Sir E. North to the peerage, ii. 77
Mary II., Queen, proclaimed in Belfast, i. 289
Mary of Modena, Queen, her dowry, i. 273
Masquerion, J. J., his portrait of T. C., ii. 379
Massachusetts, constitution of, i. 102
Massin, courier, ii. 14
Matson, three kings at, i. 248
Maupertuis, Seigneur de, ii. 230
Maxwell family, the, ii. 46
Maxwell, Sir William, his daughter Jane, Duchess of Gordon, i. 29 *note*
— partner of the London Exchange Banking Company, i. 48
Mayne, Robert, M.P. for Gatton Park, his death, i. 149 *and note*
Mayne, Sir William. *See* Lord Newhaven
Mayne, William, of Powis & Logie, i. 149 *note*
Meaux-en-Brie, Abbey of Notre Dame at, ii. 50
Mediterranean, British Fleet in the, i. 118 *note*; ii. 174
Megginch, Perthshire, i. 75 *note*, 303 *note*
Melbourne, Lord, on merit, ii. 393
Mellinge family, the, ii. 230
Mellon, Harriot, her career as an actress, ii. 229-37, 281, 282, 285, 319, 376
— marries T. C., ii. 193 *note*, 230, 311-28, 364. *See* Harriot Coutts

Mellon, Harriot, her relations with her step-father, ii. 275, 292, 295, 296
— T. C.'s letters to, ii. 249-60, 274-280, 283, 288-309, 318, 319 *note*, 322-7
— T. C.'s relations with, ii. 226-8, 238-49, 281-8, 364
Mellon, Lieut. Matthew, his marriage and death, ii. 229
Mellon, Sarah, her marriages, ii. 229-32, 285
Melrose Abbey, Scott conducts Mrs Coutts to, ii. 397, 398
Melville, Henry Dundas, Viscount, his impeachment, ii. 205, 212-7
Memoirs of a Banking-House, by Sir William Forbes, i. 3 *note*, 23 *note*
Memoirs of Harriot, Duchess of St Albans, by Mrs Cornwell Barron-Wilson, i. 27 *note*; ii. 183, 227-36, 238, 245, 287, 299 *note*, 311
Memoirs of Lady Hester Stanhope, Meryon's, ii. 352 *note*, 354 *note*
Memoirs of Lord Langdale, by T. D. Hardy, ii. 121
Memoirs of the Whig Party, by Lord Holland, ii. 76, 121
Memorials, Lord John Russell's, i. 209
Memorials of a Long Life, by Lord Broughton, ii. 121
Meryon, Dr Charles Lewis, physician to Lady H. Stanhope, ii. 354
Messina, Cardinal of York at, ii. 111
Metcalfe, Philip, executor of Sir J. Reynolds, ii. 28
Metz, birth of Madame Gonthier in, i. 236 *note*
Meyrick, Samuel B., surrogate, ii. 312, 314
— draws up a memorial, ii. 24, 26
Michael, Grand Duke, at Newmarket, ii. 386
Michael Angelo, Fuseli studies, ii. 390
Middlesex, county of, petitions Parliament, i. 127
Middlesex Election, the, ii. 126-8, 136
Middlesex Hospital, the, ii. 308
Middle Temple, Macartney, a student of the, i. 289
Middleton & Campbell, Messrs, bankers to the Royal family, ii. 43, 145, 159
Middleton, George, banker, founder of Coutts & Co., i. 36, 37, 49, 52 *note*, 67, 131 *note*
Middleton, Elizabeth, her marriage, i. 37, 77 *note*, 131 *note*
Middleton, Margaret, her marriage, i. 37, 67
Middleton, Mary, her chairs, i. 146
Midhurst, ii. 33
Midlothian, Alex. Trotter, Deputy-Lieut. of, ii. 215
Milbanke, Anna Isabella, her daughter, i. 145 *note*
Milburn Tower, Sir R. Liston at, ii. 356 *note*
Milevi, Cesarini, Bishop of, ii. 112
Militia, T. C. on the, i. 119
Mill family, the, i. 6 *note*
Millard, Mrs, attends Mrs Coutts, ii. 297
Milton, John, Fuseli's illustrations of, ii. 390
— toasted by Wordsworth, i. 16
Mining, T. C.'s interest in, i. 81, 83
Minto, 1st Earl of, i. 13
— minister at Venice, ii. 109, 112
— T. C. on, i. 272
Modena, Queen Mary of, i. 273
Modern Society, i. 14
Moira, Earl, as Governor of the Tower, ii. 270
— T. C. on, ii. 220
Monaco, death of Edward, Duke of York, at, i. 69 *note*
Money, Rev. James Drummond, his marriage, ii. 270 *note*
Monkland, estate of, ii. 26
Monmouth, H.M.S., ii. 95
Monro, Alexander, Principal of Edinburgh University, i. 85 *note*
Monro, Dr James, physician to Bethlehem Hospital, i. 85 *note*
Monro, Dr John, his care of James Coutts, i. 85
Montagu, H.M.S., ii. 95
Montague, Anthony, 7th Viscount, his marriage, ii. 32
Montague, George Samuel, 8th Viscount, his death by drowning, ii. 4, 32, 71
— his sister, ii. 68
— in Rome, ii. 13
— T. C. and family visit, i. 297; ii. 2, 9, 13, 14, 17

Montagne de Faron, battle of the, ii. 37
Montgenet, Comtesse de, ii. 147 *note*, 151 *note*
Monthly Mirror, on Grant Raymond, ii. 321, 322
Montmorency, Falls of, P. Q., Canada, ii. 149
Montrose, its situation and history, i. 4-6
— Provosts of, i. 4, 7, 8
— Thomas Coutts in, i. 20, 45 *note*
Montrose Burgh Records, i. 6 *note*
Montrose Parish Registers, quoted, i. 4 *note*
Montrose, James Graham, Marquis of, plays golf, i. 5
Montrose, James Graham, 3rd Duke of, i. 174 *note*
— client of John Campbell, i. 37
Moore, Dr J., vicar of St Pancras, ii. 315, 317
Moore, Dr John, Archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 75 *note*
Moore, Sir John, his death, ii. 347
Moreau, General, his army, ii. 80
Morning Chronicle, The, ii. 42
— anecdote of Miss Mellon in, ii. 294
— Whitefoord's contributions to, i. 63
Morning Herald, quoted, ii. 329
Morning Post, ii. 397
— Lord Dundonald's letter in, i. 27, 39
— on T. C.'s marriage, ii. 320, 329
— publishes a poem by the Duchess of Devonshire, ii. 205
Morpeth, candidacy for, i. 39-42
Morriestone, Ker family of, i. 13, 62
Morton, Earl of, client of John Campbell, i. 37
Mossgiel, Burns at, i. 159
Mountjoy, Herbert, Baron, his daughter, ii. 116
Mountjoy, Viscount, ii. 116. *See* 1st Marquis of Bute
Mount Stuart, Barony of, ii. 116
Mountstuart, Jane Charlotte, Lady, her letters to T. C., i. 142, 150-4; ii. 117
Mountstuart, John, Viscount (afterwards 1st Marquis of Bute, *q.v.*), at Cheltenham, i. 241, 242
— at Malvern, ii. 115
Mountstuart, John, Viscount, his career, i. 142, 150
— in Paris, i. 32 *note*, 231, 239
— in Scotland, i. 296
Mountstuart, John, Viscount, son of 1st Marquis of Bute, i. 152, 154 *note*, 221 *note*; ii. 17 *note*, 293 *note*. *See also* 2nd Marquis
Mourning Bride, Congreve's, ii. 386 *note*
Much Ado about Nothing, Miss Mellon acts in, ii. 234
Mumbles, the, i. 194 *note*
Mundell, James, his Academy, i. 63
Mundy, Mr, of Markeaton, T. C. and family visit, ii. 41
Munich, i. 283, 286
— Lord Galway minister in, i. 165
— Walpole minister at, i. 298, 299
Munro, Mr, at Rottingdean, i. 136
Munro, Sir Alexander, Consul-General at Madrid, i. 167, 172, 239, 300
— his marriage, i. 296
— in Abergavenny, i. 165
Munro, Sir Hector, i. 239, 300
— at Cheltenham, i. 192
— his career, i. 167 *note*, 186 *note*, 211, 305 *note*
— entertains T. C., i. 30-2, 167, 182, 195-8, 295, 296, 300
— T. C. on, i. 118
— travels with T. C., i. 246
Munster, George, Earl of, his military career, ii. 192 *note*
Murphy, Arthur, his *The Way to Keep Him*, i. 129 *note*
— T. C. befriends, ii. 393
Murray, Mr, ii. 361
Murray of Broughton, John, Secretary to Prince Charles Edward, i. 12
Musgrave, Sir William, of Edenhall, his letters to his stepson *re* Morpeth, i. 39-42
Muti, Villa and Palazzo, i. 273
Mutiny at Gibraltar, ii. 154, 165, 167
Mutiny Bill, the, i. 175
Mylne, Robert, architect of Blackfriars Bridge, i. 21

N

Nancy, Lorraine, T. C. at, i. 253
Naples, i. 13

Naples, Cardinal of York at, ii. 111
— Chinese College in, ii. 6 *note*
— its fleet, ii. 40 *note*
— Lady Bute in, ii. 182
— Sir G. Stanton in, ii. 6 *note*, 7
— T. C. in, i. 270, 282, 285
Napoleon I., Emperor, joins the French Republican Army, ii. 37
— Lady H. Stanhope on, ii. 361
— T. C. on, ii. 80, 99, 105, 219, 221, 304, 308
Napoleon Buonaparte, ii. 40 *note*
National Banks of Scotland, T. C. on, i. 278
National Debt, the, Price's theory of, i. 166 *note*
— T. C. on the, i. 74, 76, 78, 124, 166, 180, 192; ii. 58
National Portrait Gallery, Fuseli's portrait in, ii. 390
Navarino, Battle of, ii. 350
Navy, British, Lord Melville as Treasurer of, ii. 212-7
— mutiny in, ii. 85
— T. C. on, ii. 54-6, 58
Navy Bills, T. C. on the, i. 81, 85, 166, 183, 185; ii. 61 *note*, 80, 84
Navy Pay Office, the, ii. 213-6
Negapatam, capture of, i. 134 *note*, 167 *note*, 305 *note*
Neilson, Miss, of Millbank, her marriage, ii. 380 *note*
Nelson, Horatio, Viscount, Duke of Kent's letter to, ii. 158, 177
— T. C. on, ii. 103
Neuchatel, T. C. at, i. 255
Neuzen, held by the British, i. 191
Nevaud, Madame, singer, i. 236
Newborough, Thomas, Lord, T. C. visits, ii. 29-31
New Brunswick, Duke of Kent in, ii. 152
Newbury, T. C. at, ii. 70
Newcastle, invasion scare at, ii. 219
Newcastle, Duke of, his kindness to Fanny Coutts, i. 240
— his ministry, i. 69 *note*
— nominates Burdett, ii. 126
— T. C. visits, i. 303
Newcastle-under-Lyme, Sir John Wrottesley M.P. for, i. 69 *note*
Newcome's Academy, Hackney, i. 27
New English Dictionary, quoted, i. 278 *note*
New Exchange, London, i. 43
Newfoundland station, Lord Shuldam's command at, i. 118 *note*
New Foundling Hospital for Art, A, edited by Almon, i. 123 *note*
Newhaven, William Mayne, Baron, owner of Gatton, i. 141, 149
Newmains, Roxburghshire, i. 9 *note*
Newmarket, C. J. Fox at, i. 284
— Gentleman Smith at, ii. 386, 387
— Kirtling, near, ii. 77
Newmarsh, W., *On the Loans raised by Mr Pitt*, ii. 61 *note*
Newstead Abbey, Byron sells, ii. 77
Newton, Glamorganshire, T. C. at, i. 194
New York, expense incurred at, i. 167
— General Howe's attempt on, i. 81
— held by Clinton, i. 139 *note*
— Patrick Coutts trades with, i. 9
Nola, death of John Coutts at, i. 13
Nootka Sound, claimed by Spain, i. 287 *note*
Norfolk, C. J. Fox in, i. 282
Norfolk, Duke of, Lord Guilford supports, ii. 75
— Tyrwhitt visits, ii. 387
Normandy, Royalists in, ii. 39
North, Roger, 2nd Baron, entertains Elizabeth, ii. 77
North, Lord, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, i. 69, 74, 79, 102 *and note*, 104, 105, 180, 185 *note*
— as Lord Warden, ii. 73
— George III. on, i. 161 *note*; ii. 72, 74
— his alliance with Fox, ii. 73
— his children, ii. 199
— his coalition ministry, i. 146 *note*, 158, 161, 171, 174 *note*
— his ministry, 39 *note*, i. 110, 123-7, 140, 149
— his humour, i. 171; ii. 76
— his widow and son, ii. 70 *note*, 72
— invites T. C. to a Treasury meeting, i. 185 *note*
— on Cornwallis' surrender, i. 139 *note*
— opposes Pitt's Irish policy, i. 196 *note*
North, Frederick Augustus, Lord, his birth, death, and burial, ii. 78, 204, 217, 392

North, 11th Baron, ii. 78 *note*
— presents Fuseli's portrait to the nation, ii. 390
North, Susan, Baroness, her birth, ii. 78, 90
North, Colonel, ii. 73. *See* Earl of Guilford
North, Sir Edward, builds Kirtling Hall, ii. 77
North, Rev. Francis, 6th Earl of Guilford, ii. 78 *note*
North, George, his share in the Coalition Ministry, i. 158
North, Lady Georgiana, ii. 251
— her birth, ii. 78
— in Stratton Street, ii. 328, 334
North, Lady Maria, her marriage, i. 154 *note*; ii. 72, 182, 194, 330. *See* Marchioness of Bute
— in Stratton Street, ii. 328
North, Lady Susan, ii. 251
— at Tunbridge Wells, ii. 296, 300, 304
— her birth, ii. 335
— in Stratton Street, ii. 328
— tends Fuseli, ii. 390
Northampton, Lord, his daughter, ii. 387
North British Railway, the, i. 7
North Sea, British Fleet in, i. 118 *note*
Norway, trades with Montrose, i. 5
Notes on the Coutts Family, by James G. Low, quoted, i. 3 *note*, 5
Nottingham, T. C. in, i. 304
Nova Scotia, Duke of Kent in, ii. 152
Novar, Ross-shire, i. 211
— Mr and Mrs Coutts at, i. 30, 31, 167, 182, 192, 195-8, 296, 300
Niagara, Sir Gordon Drummond at, i. 75 *note*
Nice, James Coutts at, i. 105
Nile, Lady H. Stanhope on the, ii. 348
Nimeguen, capture of, ii. 57, 58
Nugent, Lord, opposes Economic Reform, i. 134 *note*
Nunn, Mrs, coaches Miss Mellon in acting, ii. 233

O

Oakes, General, Governor of Malta, ii. 348
Observer, The, article on T. C. in, ii. 317
Ochiltree, Edith, i. 8
O'Connor, Arthur, Irish patriot, ii. 265
O'Connor, Roger, entertains Burdett ii. 265
— repulses a constable, ii. 268
Oczakoff, Russian retention of, ii. 8 *note*
O'Hara, General, Governor of Gibraltar, ii. 153
Old Drury Lane, Sterling's, ii. 384
Oldfield, Mrs, Macklin on, i. 265
Old Sarum, borough of, ii. 127
— Crawford, M.P. for, i. 131 *note*
— Thomas Pitt, patron of, i. 163 *note*
Ollioules, battle of, ii. 37
O'Neill, Eliza, actress, Smith on, ii. 385-7
On the Loans raised by Mr Pitt, by W. Newmarch, ii. 61 *note*
Opie, John, his portrait of Fuseli, ii. 390
O.P. Riots, the, ii. 244, 260, 276, 290
Oracle, The, ii. 42
Orde, Thomas, his Irish bill, i. 196. *See* Baron Bolton
Orford, Earl of, writes Pitt on behalf of Walpole, i. 298
Orford, Horatio, Earl of. *See* Horace Walpole
Orkney, Earls of, succession of, i. 137 *note*
Orleans, Duke of, his letters to T. C., ii. 151 *note*, 221
Orleans, Duchess of, T. C. on, i. 266
Orthes, battle of, ii. 192 *note*
Osnabrück, Bishopric of, ii. 191
Ossian's "Fingal and Temora," ii. 97 *note*
Ossory, John, 1st Earl of, i. 215 *note*
Ossory, John, 2nd Earl of, his attitude to his brother's difficulties, i. 209, 218, 219
Oswald, Richard, agent of Shelburne in Paris, i. 148
Otham, estate of, ii. 252
Ottawa, *Life of the Duke of Kent*, published in, ii. 150
Otto, Mr, ii. 190
Ottoman Empire, overthrow of, i. 232
Otway-Cave, Hon. Mrs (Sophia Burdett), letters to, ii. 270-2
Oulton's *Itinerary*, quoted, i. 305 *note*

Overton, Thomas Rowley of, i. 82 *note*
Ovid's tomb, visit to, i. 270 *note*
Oxberry, William, actor, ii. 247
— his *Dramatic Biography* quoted, ii. 236, 246 *note*, 247
Oxford, Magdalen College, ii. 64 *note*
— Trinity College, ii. 72 *and note*
— T. C. and family at, ii. 12, 43
— University, Lord Bute at, ii. 116
Oxford, Lady, her intrigue with Burdett, ii. 86, 87, 121

P

Paine, James, architect, wins the Adelphi Lottery, i. 72 *and note*
Palermo, Lady Bute at, ii. 274
Palestine, Lady H. Stanhope in, ii. 348-50
Palmer, Charles Fysche, at Gordon Castle, i. 30, 31
— his marriage, i. 31 *note*
Palmyra, Lady H. Stanhope at, ii. 349, 356 *note*
Paris, ii. 117, 325
— Burdett in, ii. 122-4
— Cardinal Erskine in, ii. 133
— Clementina Walkinshaw near, ii. 49
— Colonel Crawford in, ii. 10
— Convent de Penthémont, i. 252 *note*
— Duke of York in, i. 69 *note*
— Earl of Carlisle in, i. 39 *note*, 40
— Earl of Rochford as Ambassador in, i. 51
— Fox in, i. 216, 244, 245, 262
— Gentleman Smith in, ii. 389
— John Crawford in, ii. 18
— Italian Theatre, i. 234-7
— Kemble in, ii. 309
— "Old Q" in, i. 284
— T. C. and family in, i. 32 *note*, 67, 246, 250-70, 282, 285, 293; ii. 28, 45, 146, 208
— T. C.'s daughters in, i. 210-13, 220, 227, 231, 234-9, 241, 247, 250-70, 275, 281
— Whitefoord in, i. 64, 148
— William Grenville in, i. 222, 223
Parke, oboe player, ii. 284
Parker, Admiral Hyde, his battle with the Dutch, i. 134 *note*
Parker, Sir Peter, attacks Charleston, i. 80 *note*
Parkinson, John, lawyer, i. 26; ii. 400
— T. C.'s letter to, ii. 368
Parliament, method of securing majorities in, i. 158
Parliamentary reform, Pitt's plans for, i. 163, 180, 181, 193
— societies promoting, ii. 11, 20
— T. C. on, ii. 20-2
Parliamentary Register, The, edited by Almon, i. 123 *note*
Paterson, Catherine, daughter of Sir Hugh, her marriage, ii. 44 *note*, 45
Paterson, Grizel, representative of the Earls of Orkney and Lords Sinclair, i. 137 *note*
Paterson, Sir Hugh, Charles Edward guest of, ii. 46
— Elizabeth, wife of, i. 202 *note*; ii. 107 *note*
Paterson, John, of Preston Hall, i. 137 *note*
Patna, mutiny at, i. 167 *note*
— Seton at, ii. 107, 108
Pattison, at Ushant, i. 118 *note*
Payne, James. *See* Paine
Payne, Lady, in London, ii. 27
Peace of Paris, 1762, i. 49
Peagrim, John, his marriage, i. 37
Peagrim, Mary, i. 37
— her marriage, i. 38, 53, 67
Peagrim, Mrs John, grandmother of Fanny Coutts, i. 37, 55, 57-9, 85, 105
Pearce, Benjamin, minister, i. 25
Pearce, Charles C., his *Jolly Duchess*, ii. 284, 285, 317, 318, 396, 398
Pearlin Jane, haunts Allanbank, i. 14 *note*
Pearson, Dr, attends T. C., ii. 291
Peeblesshire, Queensberry's influence in, i. 284
Pekin, Court of, Lord Macartney at, i. 290
Pelham, his letters *re* the Duke of Kent, ii. 157, 172-7
Pennington, Starkie family of, i. 33
Pennsylvania, Patrick Coutts trades with, i. 9
Penshurst, T. C. at, ii. 284, 302

Penthémont, Convent of, Misses Coutts at, i. 251, 252, 260, 263-269, 281
Pepys, Samuel, at the New Exchange, i. 43
Perceval, Spencer, on the Speaker's warrant, ii. 264, 267, 268
Percy, Elizabeth Jane Sydney, her marriage, ii. 302 *note*
Perigord, his account, ii. 171
Pesaro, Queen Caroline at, ii. 198
Petersham, seat of Lord and Lady Bute, ii. 197, 260, 300
— T. C. at, ii. 133-5, 139, 255, 293, 304, 306, 307
Petitions of 1780, the, i. 127 *and note*
Petworth, T. C. at, ii. 292
Phalertoun estate, i. 6
Pigot, Miss, Byron's correspondence with, i. 30 *note*
Pitt, Anne, Lady Chatham's letters to, i. 91
Pitt, Harriet, her death, i. 206 *note*
Pitt, Lady Hester, her marriage, ii. 347
Pitt, James Charles, at Cadiz, i. 100
— his career, i. 100 *note*
— T. C. on, i. 114
Pitt, John, Lord, his financia ldifficulties, i. 98, 100
— on Lord Chatham, i. 84, 92
— comes of age, i. 94. *See* 2nd Lord Chatham
Pitt, Lady, her supposed letter to T. C., i. 154 *note*
Pitt, Thomas, patron of Old Sarum, i. 163 *note*
Pitt, William, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, i. 161
— Burdett moves an inquiry into his administration, ii. 126
— Coleridge on, ii. 77
— consults T. C., ii. 39, 62, 82
— Duke of Rutland's correspondence with, i. 193
— his annuity, i. 97
— his financial policy, i. 158, 166 *note*, 180, 185, 186 *note*; ii. 59, 61-3, 75, 80-4, 88, 92
— his foreign policy, ii. 38, 42
— his gout, i. 280
— his grant to the Duke of Kent, ii. 152, 179
Pitt, William, his Irish policy, i. 181, 196 *note*, 198 *note*
— his ministry, i. 146 *note*, 147, 171 *note*, 173 *note*, 174, 179, 188, 228, 259 *note*, 292; ii. 9
— his Reform Bill, i. 163, 180, 194
— his relations with T. C., i. 297-9; ii. 29
— his resignation, i. 175
— his Russian policy, ii. 8 *and note*
— his speech on Economic Reform, i. 134
— his subscriptions to the Loyalty Loans, ii. 62, 83, 101
— on his mother's financial difficulties, i. 186 *note*
— on Lord Dalrymple, i. 178
— opposes cession of Gibraltar, i. 163 *note*
— opposes Fox's election for Westminster, i. 183 *note*
— opposes the India Bill, i. 169 *note*
— provides for Lady Hester Stanhope, ii. 347
— recalls the Duke of York, ii. 157
— reduces taxation, i. 188 *note*; ii. 2
— supports Alexander Trotter, ii. 213
— T. C. on, i. 116, 158, 170, 177-81, 185, 188, 206, 228, 272, 283, 286, 288, 293, 296, 301-3; ii. 7, 9, 54-6, 86, 94, 102-4, 129
— T. C.'s correspondence with, i. 90 *note*, 187, 278-81; ii. 53 *note*, 64, 65, 82-4, 88, 91, 106, 133-8, 141, 221-3
Pitt and the Great War, ii. 20 *note*
Pitt and National Revival, by J. Holland Rose, i. 185 *note*, 188 *note*
Pittenweem, Lord, his education, i. 21
Pius VI., Pope, T. C.'s interview with, ii. 13
Pius VII., Pope, Erskine as auditor to, ii. 53
Plague, Lady H. Stanhope on the, ii. 351
Planter's Guide, The, by Sir H. Steuart, ii. 107 *note*
Plint, J., on Pearlin Jane of Allanbank, i. 14 *note*
Plymouth, French designs on, i. 120

Poitou, Royalists in, ii. 39
Poland, 6th Earl of Stair in, i. 133 *note*, 140
— Lord Dudley Stuart, champion of, ii. 182, 384
— T. C. on, ii. 57
Polignac, Duc and Duchesse de, their influence sought on behalf of the Misses Coutts, i. 252, 266-8
Political History of England, The, by William Hunt, i. 51 *note*, 133 *note*, 161 *note*
Political Register, The, Burdett's letter in, ii. 262
— edited by Almon, i. 123 *note*
Pondicherry, capture of, i. 167 *note*
Pope, Alexander, *Essay on Man* quoted, ii. 302
Pope, Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas, ii. 72 *note*
Portland, Duke of, declines a conference with Pitt, i. 174
— Duke of Orleans' request to, ii. 221, 222
— his political friends, ii. 12 *note*, 20
Portobello, picture of, i. 10 *note*
— Sir J. J. Stuart at, ii. 373
Porto Novo, Sir H. Munro at, i. 167 *note*
Portsmouth, defence of, i. 120
— T. C. at, i. 299
Powderham Castle, Sir William Courtenay of, ii. 385
Powell, Mrs, actress, ii. 246 *note*, 290, 298, 299 *note*
Powell, William, actor, partner in Covent Garden Thetare, i. 254 *note*
Powis, William Mayne of, i. 149 *note*
Poyntz, Georgiana Anne, her marriages, ii. 388
Poyntz, Mr, his marriage, ii. 68
— in Turin, i. 86
Poyntz, Rt. Hon. Stephen, his daughter's marriage, ii. 205, 210
Preston, Lancashire, i. 26
Preston Hall, John Paterson of, i. 137 *note*
Preston family, the, visit T. C., ii. 58
Preston, Sir Charles, of Valleyfield, T. C. visits, i. 182, 200
Preston, George, his command in 1715, i. 200 *note*
Preston, Mr, musical instrument maker, ii. 90
Preston, Sir Robert, entertains Sir W. Scott, i. 200 *note*
Prestonpans, battle of, i. 63
Prevost, General Augustine, at Savannah, i. 119
Price, Dr Richard, his financial theories, i. 166 *and note*
Prince of Wales Island, Seton Governor of, ii. 107 *note*
Prussia, English alliance with, i. 247
— supports the French monarchy, ii. 24, 39
— Prussia, Frederick, King of, declares war, i. 113
— his retreat, ii. 19
— subsidised by Pitt, ii. 75
— Prince Henry of, i. 262
Prussians, the, in Holland, i. 222, 223
— T. C. on, ii. 57
Pulman, J., ii. 230 *note*
Pulteney, Miss, meets Fox, i. 263
Putney Academy, the, John Adams master of, i. 26 *note*
Putney Hill, North House, ii. 328, 334, 340, 390
Pye, John, laureate, ii. 393

Q

Quadruple Alliance, T. C. on the, i. 231
Quatre Cantons, Lake of, i. 255
Quebec, Duke of Kent in, ii. 148-51
Quebec Literary and Historical Society, ii. 150
" Queen of the Desert," story of the, ii. 346
Queensberry, Duke of, client of the Ayr Bank, i. 77
— client of John Campbell, i. 37
— dislikes his nickname, i. 284
— his influence in Ayr, i. 284
Queensborough, Gibbs Crawford M.P. for, i. 115 *note*, 201 *note*
Queensferry, i. 201 *note*
Quentin, Colonel, accused of lack of gallantry, ii. 192 *note*
Quiberon, battle of, ii. 39

R

Rae, actor, ii. 291
Raikes, Thomas, his *Journal*, ii. 339 *note*
Rainsford, protégé of the Duke of Kent, ii. 177
Ramsay, Allan, his portrait of John Coutts, i. 13
Ramsay, Director of the Royal Bank of Scotland, i. 279
Ramsay's stables, Edinburgh, i. 196
Ramsbury, Wiltshire, estate of Sir F. Burdett, ii. 4, 122, 125
Ramsgate, T. C. at, ii. 56
Rankine, Captain, T. C. on, i. 68
Raymond, Sir Charles, his house near Margate, i. 203
Raymond, James Grant, actor, his friendship with Miss Mellon, ii. 282, 288, 314, 315, 320-2
— his career, ii. 321
Reck, Messrs John Conrad, bankers in Venice, ii. 109
Recollections of Samuel Rogers, 1856, i. 29 *note*
Record Office, Chatham papers at the, i. 90 *note*
Redgauntlet, Scott's, ii. 48
Reeves, John, convenes a counter-reformist association, ii. 20 *note*
Reform Bill, Pitt's, i. 163
— of 1832, ii. 370
Regency Bill, the, i. 264, 276
Reigate, T. C. at, ii. 296
Renfrewshire, Crawford M.P. for, i. 131, 173, 177, 275
Renton, Mr, M.P. for Berwick, i. 132
Repton, Derbyshire, Foremark near, ii. 3
Repton School, Stevens head-master of, ii. 64 *note*
Retaliation, by Goldsmith, i. 64
Revolution Society, the, ii. 11 *note*
Reyner, William, minister, i. 25
Reynolds, Sir Joshua, encourages Fuseli, ii. 390
— his friendship with Whitefoord, i. 64
— his funeral attended by T. C., ii. 9 *and note*
— his portrait of Dr John Armstrong, i. 72 *note*
— his portrait of James Coutts, i. 42
Reynolds, Sir Joshua, his portrait of the Duchess of Devonshire, ii. 206
— his portrait of Mrs Hartley, ii. 389
— his will, ii. 28 *note*
— Lord Macartney's friendship with, i. 289
Richardson, Ralph, F.R.S.E., F.S.A., i. 61
— *Coutts & Co., Bankers*, i. 3 *note*, 21 *note*
Richmond, Thomson's shrine at, ii. 379 *note*
Richmond, Charles Lennox, 4th Duke, his duel with the Duke of York, i. 276
— opposes the American War, i. 158
— opposes cession of Gibraltar, i. 162 *note*
Rickman, John, Lamb's letter to, ii. 379 *note*
Riddell, Colonel, his medicine, ii. 223, 224
Riddell, John, antiquary, i. 271 *note*
Rigby, J., letter to, ii. 73
Rigby, Richard, on Old Sarum, i. 163 *note*
Riot Act, read in Piccadilly, ii. 265, 267
Rivals, The, Miss Mellon acts in, ii. 234, 235
— production of, i. 242, 254 *note*
Robbins, Alice E., *A Book of Duchesses*, i. 30 *note*
Robbins, Helen H., *Lord Macartney, our First Ambassador in China*, i. 290 *note*; ii. 7 *note*, 84 *note*
Robert II. of Scotland, King, ii. 380
Robert the Bruce, King, i. 6 *note*
Robins, ii. 304
Robinson, Crabb, his *Diary*, ii. 217 *note*
— on Lord Buchan, ii. 379
— on Lord Erskine, ii. 375
Robinson, "Perdita," portraits of, ii. 206
Rochambeau, joins Lafayette, i. 138 *note*
Rochford, William Henry, Earl of, arbitrates between James and Thomas Coutts, i. 51, 52, 73, 74, 77
— client of T. C., i. 88, 270
— his willingness to serve under Chatham, i. 74, 90, 99, 104, 106

Rockingham, Lord, his administration, i. 69 *note*, 131, 144 *note*
Rodney, Admiral Lord, captures St Eustatius, i. 134 *note*
Roehenstart, Charles Edward Stuart, Count, his notes on T. C.'s generosity, ii. 52, 128, 129, 143
— Lady Bute refuses a loan to, ii. 333
Rogers, Rev. Charles, LL.D., *Genealogical Memoirs of the Families of Colt and Coutts*, i. 3 *note*, 4, *note*, 16
Rogers, Samuel, his *Recollections*, quoted, i. 29 *note*
— his *Table Talk*, quoted, ii. 207
— on the Earl of Carlisle, i. 39 *note*
Rolliad, authorship of the, i. 215 *note*
Roman Catholics in Canada, ii. 148
— their disabilities, i. 126
Rome, ii. 95
— Cardinal Erskine in, ii. 53, 68
— Comtesse d'Alberstroff in, ii. 49
— Fuseli in, ii. 390
— Margaret Stuart married in, i. 128
— Miss Coutts in, i. 105
— Sloane, banker in, ii. 109, 132
— T. C. in, i. 270
— T. C. on the venality of, i. 165
— Thomas Jenkins, banker in, i. 26 *note*; ii. 7
— Townly Collection formed in, ii. 100 *note*
Romp, The, Miss Mellon acts in, ii. 233
Roscius, the Edinburgh, ii. 97
Roscoe, William, consulted by Lord Buchan, ii. 379
Rose, Sir George, supports Alex. Trotter, ii. 216
— T. C.'s letters to, ii. 83
— T. C. on, i. 279
Rose, Dr J. Holland, *Pitt and National Revival*, i. 185 *note*, 188 *note*; ii. 61 *note*
Rosebery, Earl of, client of John Campbell, i. 37
Rosebery, Earl of, his *Chatham* quoted, i. 87 *note*, 91
Rosina, production of, i. 242
Ross, Admiral Sir John Lockhart, his promotion, i. 118
Ross, Colonel, T. C.'s letters to, i. 270, 285; ii. 43, 143
Ross, David, in India, i. 286
Ross, General, conducts the Misses Coutts to Paris, i. 212, 213, 234, 238, 250
Ross, George, T. C. on, i. 132
Rosslyn, Colonel St Clair of, i. 137 *note*
Rosslyn, Earls of, their estate, i. 137 *note*. *See* Lord Loughborough
Rotterdam, business at, i. 223
— John Coutts at, i. 25
Rottingdean, T. C. at, i. 121, 126, 135, 136, 148
Roundell, Mrs Charles, on Lady H. Stanhope, ii. 346
Rowley of Overton, Mary, daughter of Thomas, i. 82 *note*
Royal Academy, Fuseli, Professor of Painting at and Keeper of, ii. 390
Royal George Yacht, ii. 186
Royal Marriage Act, the, i. 92 *note*
Ruddiman, Dr, attends Mrs Coutts, ii. 276-8, 288, 289, 297, 303-5
— attends Lord Erskine, ii. 376
Rundell, Mr, his man, ii. 290
Russell, H.M.S., ii. 95
Russell, Lord John (Earl), his *Memorials* quoted, i. 209
— his town house, ii. 34
Russell, Lord William, caricature of, ii. 127 *note*
Russia, England's policy towards, 1792, ii. 8 *and note*
— its control of the Scheldt, i. 172 *note*
— joins the Quadruple Alliance, i. 232
— supports Holland, i. 222 *note*
— Sweden at war with, i. 247
— T. C. on, ii. 57
— Catherine, Empress of, supports the French monarchy, ii. 24
Rutherford, actor, partner in Covent Garden Theatre, i. 254 *note*
Rutland, John Manners, 3rd Duke of, as Lord Steward, i. 161
— his son, i. 159 *note*
Rutland, Charles Manners, 4th Duke of, approached by Colonel Crawfurd, i. 190-7
— as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, i. 175, 179, 197 *note*
— raises a regiment, i. 120
Ruville, Dr A. von, his *William Pitt* quoted, i. 100 *note*

Ryder, actor, i. 242
Ryder family, the, their seat, ii. 67 *note*
Rylands, T. Paul, F.S.A., *The Starkie Family*, i. 33 *note*

S

Sackville, Lady Elizabeth, her marriage, ii. 297
Sackville, Lady Mary, her marriage, i. 260 *note*
Salaberry, Ignace Louis de, Duke of Kent's relations with, ii. 149-51
Salisbury, T. C. at, ii. 253
Salisbury, Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of, builds the New Exchange, i. 43
Salisbury, James Cecil, 6th Earl of, his property in the Strand, i. 43, 52 *note*
— Marquis of Buckingham visits, i. 199
Salisbury, Robert, 3rd Marquis of, his property in the Strand, i. 43
Salisbury, Sir Robert, moves the commitment of Burdett to the Tower, ii. 263
Salt Hill, T. C. at, ii. 23, 197, 200, 332, 367, 368, 372, 381
Sancho, dog, death of, i. 28
Sandon, Gloucestershire, T. C. at, ii. 67
Sandon Hall, Staffs., ii. 67 *note*
Sandwich, John Montagu, 4th Earl of, his sister, ii. 385
Sandy Knowe, Robert Scott of, i. 9 *note*
Saratoga, surrender of, i. 89
Sardinia, Kingdom of, its ambassador in Turin, ii. 118
— its fleet, ii. 40 *note*
Saunders, Dr, attends Mrs Coutts, ii. 278
Savannah, capture of, i. 81 *note*, 119
Sayda (Sidon), ii. 349, 359
Scafe, Mr, acts for the Duke of Kent, ii. 171
Schaffhausen, Lord Montague and Sedley Burdett drowned in the Falls of, ii. 4, 32, 33, 71
— T. C. at, i. 255
Scheldt, navigator of the, i. 172, 192 *note*
School for Scandal, The, Miss Mellon in, ii. 282, 388
School of Wits, The, ii. 245
Scotchmen in London, i. 65
Scotland, Banks of, i. 278-80
— Civil Jury Court of, ii. 374
— electoral reform in, ii. 16, 22, 41
— excise paid through Coutts, i. 278-81
— House of Agriculture, ii. 215
— Lord William Gordon Vice-Admiral of, i. 224
— militia of, ii. 116
— National Portrait Gallery, ii. 379 *note*
— Prince Leopold in, ii. 373
— trial by jury in, i. 201, 202
Scott, John. *See* Lord Eldon
Scott, Mr, M.P. for Berwick, i. 132
Scott, Robert, grandfather of Sir W. Scott, i. 9 *note*
Scott, Sir Walter, at Culross, i. 200 *note*
— his ancestry, i. 9 *note*
— his friendship with Adam, ii. 374, 375
— his friendship with Mrs Coutts, ii. 396-400
— *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, ii. 99 *note*
— on Dr Hume, ii. 381
— on Erskine, ii. 375, 376
— on Liston, ii. 356 *note*
— on Lord Buchan, i. 168 *note*; ii. 378, 379, 381
— *Redgauntlet*, quoted, *re* Clementina, ii. 48, 51
— *Table-Talk*, i. 248 *note*
— *Tales of a Grandfather*, i. 63
— *The Antiquary*, quoted, i. 5, 8, 201 *note*; ii. 350
Scottish Influences in Russian History, by A. F. Steuart, ii. 380 *note*
Scottish Historical Society, *Miscellany*, ii. 45
Scurdyness, i. 5
Seaford, Harris at, i. 254
Seaforth Papers, The, ii. 399
Seasons, The, by Thomson, i. 159
Sedan, ii. 49
Sedley, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Charles, ii. 4, 32
Selections, by Sir James Bland Burges, i. 166 *note*

Selwyn, George Augustus, as a client of T. C., i. 144
— on three kings, i. 248
Sempill, Lord, his revolutionary sympathies, ii. 20
Seneca, Crawfurd on, i. 277
Seringapatam, Cornwallis invests, ii. 6
Servante Maîtresse, La, production of, i. 236
Servants, T. C. on domestic, i. 213
Seton, Archibald, his career, ii. 107 *and note*, 108
Seton, Elizabeth, daughter of Archibald, i. 202 *note*; ii. 107 *note*
Seton, Lilias, her marriage, ii. 107 *note*
Seton of Touch, Hugh, i. 52
— his debts, i. 202
— arbitrates between James and Thomas Coutts, i. 52, 72
Seton-Stewart, Sir Alan Henry, of Allanton and Touch, ii. 107 *note*
Sevenoaks, T. C. at, ii. 284, 296, 297
Shakespeare, William, Fuseli's illustrations of, ii. 390
— *King Henry VIII.*, quoted, ii. 272
— *King Lear*, ii. 96 *note*
— T. C.'s interest in, i. 207, 220; ii. 34, 392
Sharpe, C. Kirkpatrick, his *Letters*, i. 14 *note*
Shelburne, Lord, as Secretary of State, i. 108, 144 *note*
— created Marquis of Lansdowne, (*q.v.*), i. 189, 190
— his duel, i, 127 *and note*
— his financial policy, i. 166
— his ministry, i. 142, 146, 148, 150, 161
— his willingness to cede Gibraltar, i. 162 *note*
— on the independence of America, i. 156 *note*
Shelley, Sir Bysshe, ii. 302 *note*
Shelley, P. B., his connections, ii. 302 *note*
— his death, ii. 283
Shenstone, his friendship with Lord Luxborough, i. 305 *note*
Shepherd, Sir Samuel, supports Alex. Trotter, ii. 216
Sheridan, Louisa, prepares the *Memoirs* of the Duchess of St Albans, ii. 228-30
Sheridan, by W. Sichel, i. 254 *note*; ii. 206-8
Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, at the trial of Hastings, i. 240, 242
— Byron on, ii. 380 *note*
— engages Miss Mellon, ii. 233, 234
— his friendship with Lord John, Townshend, ii. 388
— his friendship with Harris, i. 254 *note*
— his influence on behalf of T. C., i. 261
— his theatre, ii. 34
— on the Duchess of Devonshire, ii. 207
— on Lacy, i. 256
— opposes Pitt's Irish policy, i. 196 *note*
— *The Rivals*, i. 242, 254 *note*; ii. 234, 235
— *Trip to Scarborough*, ii. 234
Sheriffs of Middlesex, Burdett's appeal to the, ii. 266
She Would and She Would Not, Miss Mellon in, ii. 282
Shuldam, Admiral Molyneux, Lord, his command, i. 118
Sichel, Walter, his *Life of Sheridan*, quoted, i. 254 *note*; ii. 206-8
Siddons, Mrs, her leading parts, ii. 386 *note*
— her relations with Miss Mellon, ii. 236, 237
— Robinson on, ii. 375
— T. C. on, ii. 300
Sidmouth, Duke and Duchess of Kent at, ii. 159
— Lady Bute at, ii. 276, 288, 296, 308
Sidmouth, Henry Addington, 1st Viscount, Fox on, ii. 219
— on the garrison at Gibraltar, ii. 153, 155, 168
Sidney, Algernon, portrait of, ii. 302
Sidney, Sir John Shelley, of Penshurst, ii. 302
Sidney, Sir Philip, T. C. on, ii. 302, 303
Siege of Toulon, by C. J. Fox, ii. 40 *note*

Sinclair, Colonel, of Dysart, at Cheltenham, i. 192, 203
— at Dysart, i. 137-9
— at Tobermory, i. 134
— his career, i. 137 *note*
— his death, i. 275, 277
— T. C. visits, i. 110, 115, 126, 136-8, 155, 182, 196-200
Sinclair, General James, his death and successor, i. 137 *note*
Sinclair, Sir Robert, of Stevenson, i. 31 *note*
Sinking Fund, the, Price's theory with regard to, i. 166 *note*
— T. C. on, i. 78, 123, 174, 191
Skene, General, T. C.'s letter to, i. 203
Sloane, Alexander, banker, in Rome, ii. 109, 118, 132
Smith, Adam, his friendship with Whitefoord, i. 63
Smith, Charles, wine-merchant in Boulogne, ii. 44 *note*, 107 *note*
Smith, Christian, wife of John Coutts, i. 7
Smith, Dr, attends Fanny Coutts, i. 56
Smith, General, invites T. C. to Blackadder, i. 138
Smith, Hugh, his career, ii. 107 *note*, 108
Smith, Margaret Agnes, her marriage, ii. 44 *note*, 107 *note*
Smith, Mr, of the India Board, ii. 223
Smith, William, actor, his career, ii. 384-9
— his friendship with T. C., ii. 305, 384, 385, 388
Smollett, Tobias, his friendship with Whitefoord, i. 64
Smythe, Lieut.-Colonel, acts for the Duke of Kent, ii. 170
Snow, banker, subscribes to the Loyalty Loan, ii. 83
Snowdon, ii. 30
Snowe & Donne, Messrs, bankers, i. 36
Sobieski, Princess Clémentine, her god-daughter, ii. 45
Society of Artists, the, James Paine as President of, i. 72 *note*
Society of Arts, the, home of, i. 44
Society of the Friends of the People, ii. 11
Somerset, Duke of, Bulstrode, seat of, i. 221 *note*
Somerville, his friendship with Lord Luxborough, i. 305 *note*
Soult, Marshal, ii. 308
Southesk, Earl of, his estate near Montrose, i. 6
South Sea Company, the, Linwood, director of, i. 40
Southey, Robert, as laureate, ii. 393
Spa, James Coutts at, i. 77
Spain, claims Nootka Sound, i. 287 *and note*, 292
— England's relations with, ii. 174
— its alliance with France, i. 110, 121, 160, 162 *note*
— Stuart property in, i. 273
— T. C. on, ii. 68
— war with, ii 118
Spaniard, T. C.'s horse, i. 213, 220, 222, 277, 296
Spanish fleet, allied with the French, i. 121
— at Toulon, ii. 36 *note*, 38
Sparks, actor, ii. 303
Sparks, Mrs, actress, T. C.'s gift to, ii. 298, 299 *note*
Speaker's warrant, power of the, ii. 263-8
Speen, Newbury, Lord Guilford's marriage at, ii. 70, 72
Spencer, John, 1st Earl, his daughter Georgiana, ii. 205, 210
— threatens Martindale, ii. 207, 208
Spencer, Lady Henrietta, her marriage, ii. 14 *note*
Spencer, Lord Robert, C. J. Fox's friendship with, i. 281, 282
— his letter to T. C., ii. 187
Spens, Dr Nathan, of Edinburgh, ii. 19, 21
— attends Mrs Coutts, i. 155
— in Bath, ii. 90, 91
Spirit of the Age, Hazlitt's, ii. 376 *note*
Spithead, Lord Howe at, ii. 36 *note*
Spoiled Child, The, farce, ii. 232
Staffa, Macdonald of, ii. 107 *note*
Stafford, Harriot Mellon in, ii. 233
Stafford, Grenville, 1st Marquis of, as Lord Privy Seal, i. 175 *note*, 189
Staines, Miss Mellon at, ii. 254
Stair, John Dalrymple, 5th Earl of, Coutts' break with, ii. 59

Stair, John Dalrymple, 5th Earl of, Crawford's relation to, i. 131 *note*, 159
— his brother, i. 143 *note*
— his career, i. 66
— his death, i. 223
— his investment in an unsecured bond, i. 223-6, 229
— his marriage, i. 37
— his pro-Americanism, i. 66, 89, 141, 143 *note*, 156
— sells bank lease to James Coutts, i. 52 *note*, 73
— T. C.'s letters to, i. 55, 59, 66, 67, 73-87, 102-8, 110-14, 122-4, 132-40, 143-50, 155, 164-7, 171-8, 183-8, 223-6, 229; ii. 2, 380
— tries to purchase a borough for his son, i. 141, 149, 176-8
Stair, John Dalrymple, 6th Earl of, his diplomatic appointments, i. 133 *note*, 136, 145, 147, 165
— his election, ii. 380
Stair, John William Henry Dalrymple, 7th Earl of, his succession, i. 143 *note*
Stair, Margaret, Countess of, her interest in the Bank, i. 67
— her mother, i. 146 *note*
St Albans, Harriot, Duchess of, at the Adelphi, ii. 384
— befriends the Stuart family, i 60
— continues the annuities paid by T. C., i. 26, 34
— her bank shares, ii. 370
— her death, ii. 285
— her marriage, ii. 395, 398-400
— her *Memoirs*, ii. 227-37, 311
— on the first Mrs Coutts, i. 27
— visits Scott, ii. 396. *See also* Harriot Mellon and Harriot Coutts
St Albans, William Aubrey de Vere, 9th Duke of, his marriage, ii. 395, 399
St Albans, 3rd Duke of, Trustees of, his property in the Strand, i. 44 *note*
Stanhope, Colonel, supports Fox, ii. 73
Stanhope, Earl, his *Life of Pitt* quoted, i. 100 *note*, 163 *note*, 186 *note*; ii. 12 *note*
Stanhope, Charles, 3rd Earl of, his inventions, ii. 347
— on Pitt's maiden speech, i. 134 *note*
Stanhope, Lady Hester, at Chevening, ii. 96
— at Tunbridge Wells, ii. 94
— at Bath, ii. 130
— her career, ii. 347-50
— her letters to T. C., ii. 346, 351-62
Stannary Laws, T. C. on, i. 82
St Anne's Hill, Fox at, i. 209
Stanton, his travelling company, ii. 233
Stanway, seat of Lord Elcho, T. C. at, ii. 67
Stapleton, Mrs, in London, i. 274, 287
— T. C.'s messages to, ii. 102
Starkie Family, The, by T. Paul Rylands, F.S.A., i. 33 *note*
Starkie, Catherine and Jane, i. 26
Starkie, Edmund, of Huntroyd, i. 33
Starkie, Jane, niece of Mrs Coutts, i. 26, 34
Starkie, Captain Nicholas, brother-in-law of T. C., i. 26, 33
— his career, i. 33, 34
Starkie, Susannah, marries T. C., i. 25-35. *See under* Coutts
Staunton, Sir George Leonard, his career, ii. 6 *note*
— T. C.'s letter to, ii. 6
St Clair, Colonel James Paterson, of Dysart. *See* Sinclair
Stephen, John, banker in Edinburgh, i. 16
— monitor of the Coutts brothers, i. 23, 24, 48
Stephen Thomas, partner with Patrick and Thomas Coutts, i. 15, 23
Stephens, Alexander, biographer of Horne Tooke, ii. 126
Stephenson, Sally, duenna of Miss Mellon, ii. 241-3, 251, 258, 283, 292 *note*
Sterling Edward, *Old Drury Lane*, ii. 384
Sternfield, Suffolk, Rev. J. D. Money, rector of, ii. 270 *note*
Steuart, A. Francis, his researches *re* Clementina Walkinshaw, ii. 45, 52 *note*
— *Scottish Influences in Russian History*, ii. 380 *note*
Steuart, Sir Henry, of Allanton, his marriage, ii. 107 *note*

St Eustatius, capture of, i. 134 *note*
Stevens, Rev. William Bagshaw, his career, ii. 64 *and note*, 65
Stevenson, Sir Robert Sinclair of, i. 31 *note*
Stevenson Misses, their school, i. 204, 233
Stewart family of Allanton, the, i. 271 *note*
Stewart family of Coltness, the, i. 271
Stewart, Archibald, wine-merchant, M.P. for Edinburgh, i. 63
Stewart, Sir James, of Coltness, ii. 376
Stewart, Sir James, of Kirkfield and Caithness, i. 168 *note*
Stewart, Sir John, of Bonkill, i. 271 *note*
Stewart (or Stuart), Mrs, aunt of Sir John Stuart, i. 155
Stirling, route from, to Carlisle, i. 196, 197, 300
Stirling Burghs, Campbell M.P. for, i. 81 *note*
St Ives, Drummond M.P. for, i. 77, 117
St James's Chronicle, on T. C.'s marriage, ii. 320
St Katharine's Hospital, Sir James Stuart in, i. 56
St Kitts, Admiral Byron at, i. 121
St Laurent, Madame de, her relations with the Duke of Kent, ii. 147, 150, 151 *and note*, 166, 168, 171, 172
St Lucia, taken from the French, i. 111, 121
Stockbridge, Linwood M.P. for, i. 40
Stockholm, i. 247
Stoke, Bristol, T. C. at, i. 81
Stolberg, Louise of, ii. 50
Stone House, St Peter's, near Margate, i. 203
Storace, Madame, actress, ii. 246 *note*
Stormont, Lord, opposes the recognition of the Independence of America, i. 156 *note*
Stow's *Survey of London*, i. 37 *note*
Stowe, Lord Chatham at, i. 91
— Thomas Grenville at, ii. 133
St Pancras Church, T. C.'s marriage at, ii. 311-21, 323, 372
Strange, Sir Robert, his *Memoirs*, ii. 51 *note*
Stranger, Kotzebue's, ii. 386 *note*
Stranraer, Wigtownshire, representation of, i. 176 *note*, 177, 178
Strasbourg, T. C. at, i. 255
Strathearne, Duke of. *See* Duke of Cumberland
Strathfieldsaye, Duke of Wellington at, ii. 189
Strathspey, birth of Raymond at, ii. 321
Streatham, General Dalrymple at, i. 184
Streatham Common, i. 44
Strictures on an Impostor, etc., by Mr Percy Wyndham, ii. 245, 246
St Simon, Duc de, his *Œuvres Complètes*, ii. 45 *note*
Stuart, Agnes, befriended by her great-uncle T. C., i. 60
— wife of the 10th Earl of Buchan, i. 13
Stuart, Andrew, his services on behalf of the Cardinal of York, ii. 112
Stuart, Archibald, his friendship with T. C., i. 66
— Lord Provost of Edinburgh, i. 66; ii. 46
Stuart family of Allanbank, the, i. 271 *note*; ii. 7 *note*, 107 *note*
Stuart, Royal House of, Coutts' attachment to, i. 271
Stuart, Charles Edward, his death, ii. 146. *See under* Charles Edward
Stuart, Frances, Lady, her children, i. 200, 257
— her ill-health, ii. 260
— her letter to T. C., i. 154
— her marriage, ii. 373
— wishes to visit T. C., i. 231
Stuart, General Charles Edward, Count Roehenstart, *q.v.*
Stuart, Grizel, marries Edward Marjoribanks, i. 13
Stuart, Henry Benedict. *See* the Cardinal of York
Stuart, James, friend of T. C., i. 22
Stuart, Jane, wife of Archibald Trotter, i. 13
Stuart, Jean, her marriage, i. 14, 20, 168 *note*
Stuart, John and C. E. Sobieski, their *Tales of the Century*, ii. 47 *note*

Stuart, John Crichton, ii. 116. *See* 2nd Marquis of Bute
Stuart, Lady, accompanies James Coutts abroad, i. 42, 54, 55
— her brother Hugh Seton, i. 52, 202 *note*
— makes a match, ii. 107 *note*
— T. C. on, i. 55-60, 112, 200
Stuart, Lady Charlotte, her birth, ii. 47 *See* Duchess of Albany
Stuart, Lady Frances, ii. 357
— her play, ii. 293
Stuart, Lady Jane, her marriage, i. 289
Stuart, Lilias, befriended by T. C., i. 60; ii. 373
— wife of William Cochrane, i. 25
Stuart, Lord Dudley, acts at Petersham, ii. 293
— at T. C.'s deathbed, ii. 391, 392
— champion of the Poles, ii. 182, 384
— his marriage, ii. 383, 384
— T. C. on, ii. 294, 296, 357
Stuart, Margaret, her marriage, i. 128
Stuart, Margaret, Lady, mother of Jean Coutts, i. 14, 20
Stuart, Mr, on Sancho, i. 28
Stuart, Mrs, with Dr Spens, ii. 19, 21, 90, 91
Stuart, Patrick James Crichton, acts at Petersham, ii. 293, 296
Stuart, Sir Charles, returns from Paris, ii. 309
Stuart, Sir James, befriended by T. C., i. 60
— in St Katharine's Hospital, i. 56
Stuart, Sir John, his daughter Jean marries John Coutts, i. 10, 13, 16, 18
— his daughter Margaret marries Coxe Hippisley, i. 128
Stuart, Sir John, 3rd baronet, his marriage, ii. 107 *note*
— invites T. C., i. 196
Stuart, Sir John, 4th baronet, Duke of York on, ii. 44 *note*, 46, 190
— marries Frances Coutts, i. 42, 54-60, 110, 112, 116, 117, 128, 202 *note*, 257; ii. 107 *note*
— T. C. on, ii. 19
Stuart, Sir John James, his interview with Prince Leopold, ii. 373
Stuart, Sophia, her annuities, ii. 373
Stuttgart, British ministry at, ii 190
St Vincent, taken by the French, i. 111, 121
Sudbury, Hippisley M.P. for, ii. 7 *note*
Suez, English forces at, ii. 129
Sunbury, conquest of, i. 119 *note*
Surprise, H.M.S., i. 100
Survey of London, Stow's, i. 37 *note*
Sussex, Duke of, client and friend of T. C., ii. 146, 181, 185, 318 *note*, 392
Sutherlandshire, T. C. in, i. 197
Sutton, Charles Manners, Archbishop of Canterbury, i. 159 *note*; ii. 316
Sutton, Lord George, his daughters, i. 121, 122
Sutton, Lord George Manners, his death, i. 159, 160
Sutton, Thomas Manners, Solicitor-General, his career, i. 160. *See* Baron Manners
Swansea, Harriot Mellon at, ii. 241, 251
Sweden attacks Russia, i. 247
— trades with Montrose, i. 5
Switzerland, Burdett in, ii. 124
— T. C. in, i. 250
— Wickham as envoy in, ii. 66 *note*
Sydney, Thomas Townshend, 1st Viscount, approaches the Duke of Portland, i. 174
— as Home Secretary, i. 228
— his daughter, i. 240 *note*
Sylph, The, novel by the Duchess of Devonshire, ii. 206

T

Table Talk, Roger's, quoted, i. 39 *note*
Tale of the Last Century, A, etc., ii. 246
Tales of the Century, by J. and C. E. Sobieski Stuart, ii. 47 *note*
Tales of a Grandfather, Scott's, i. 63 *note*
Talmond, Mme de, mistress of Charles Edward, ii. 47
Tassie, James, his medallion of Lord Buchan, ii. 379 *note*

Tattersall's, Duke of Kent's horses at, ii. 161
Tavistock, Fitzpatrick M.P. for, i. 215 *note*
Taylor, Charles, clerk to T. C., i. 82
Taylor, John, *Records of my Life*, ii. 393
Taylor, Mr and Mrs Creevey visits, ii. 185
Taymouth, T. C. on, i. 116
Tea-tax in the American Colonies, the, i. 69 *note*, 102 *note*
Tea-tax in England, i. 188
Tempest, Sir Henry, entertains Miss Mellon, ii. 259 *note*, 260
Temple, Hester, Countess, her children, i. 87 *note*, 91
— her grandson, Lord Glastonbury, i. 178 *note*
Temple, Richard Grenville, 1st Earl, George III.'s instructions to, i. 170 *note*
— his death, i. 301
— on Burdett, ii. 126
— T .C. on, i. 87, 108, 109, 175
Temple, Nugent, 2nd Earl, i. 87 *note*, 91
— T. C. on, i. 108, 190, 199. *See* Marquis of Buckingham
Temple, Earl (1st Duke of Buckingham), on Burdett, ii. 126
Tenby, Miss Mellon at, ii. 253
Tennyson, Alfred, Lord, quoted, i. 20, 88
Thanet, Sackville, Earl of, his daughters, i. 260 *note*
Theatrical Fund, the, Miss Mellon contributes to, ii. 244, 246, 248
Thetford, Norfolk, C. J. Fox at, i. 221, 283
Thistlewood, his imprisonment, ii. 122 *note*
Thomson, James, Armstrong's *Life* of, ii. 392
— Lord Buchan's memoir of, ii. 379
— *The Seasons*, i. 159; ii. 87
Thun, Lake of, T. C. visits, i. 255
Thurlow, as Lord Chancellor, ii. 12 *note*
— disagrees with Pitt, i. 188
Thurot, Admiral, his squadron captured by Elliot, i. 65
Tierney, Treasurer of the Navy, ii. 214
Times, The, announcement of T. C.'s marriage in, ii. 320
— on Elliston, ii. 291
— quoted, ii. 262
Tipú Sahib, Mahrattas allied with, ii. 6 *note*, 16
Tobacco, Herries purchases, for France, i. 48
Tobermory, T. C. at, i. 134
Tobin's *Honeymoon*, ii. 238, 239
Tomboy, Priscilla in the, ii. 232
Tooke, John Horne, his influence on Burdett, ii. 125, 126
— on Burdett, ii. 121
Touch, Setons of, i. 52, 202; ii. 107 *note*, 108
Toulon, Duke of York in, i. 69 *note*
— French take posssesion of, ii. 37, 40
— Lord Hood at, ii. 30, 36 *note*, 38
Toulouse, battle of, ii. 192 *note*
— Wellington at, ii. 308
Townly, Charles, Coutts family dine with, ii. 100, 101
— his collection, ii. 100 *note*
Townshend, Charles Fox, Gentleman Smith on, ii. 388
Townshend, Hon. Charles, his career, i. 69 *note*
— his death, i. 69, 70
Townshend, Hon. Mary Elizabeth, her marriage, i. 240 *note*
Townshend, Lord John, his marriage, ii. 388
Townshend, 1st Marquis, Gentleman Smith on, ii. 387
— his duel with Lord Bellamont, i. 71
— Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, i. 69 *note*, 71 *note*
— T. C. on, i. 190
Townshend, Charles, 3rd Viscount, i. 69 *note*
Trafalgar, battle of, ii. 158
Travels among the Arab Tribes, ii. 350 *note*
Travels in China, by John Barrow, i. 290 *note*
Treatise on Reversionary Annuities, Price's, i. 166 *note*
Trevern, Abbé, in London, ii. 27
Trial by jury in Scotland, i. 201, 202
Trip to Scarborough, Sheridan's, ii. 234

Trotter, Alexander, Lord Melville's Paymaster, ii. 205, 212-7
— refused a partnership, ii. 217
Trotter, Archibald, of Castleshields, i. 13
— monitor of the Coutts brothers, i. 21, 22
Trotter, Rev. Coutts, educational reformer, ii. 217
Trotter, Sir Coutts, at T. C.'s funeral, ii. 392
— dines with T. C., ii. 339
— employs tent-makers, i. 227
— his partnership with Messrs Coutts, i. 13, 201 *note*; ii. 25, 89, 95, 141, 186, 213, 214, 216
Trotter, Jane, her marriage. i. 201 *note*
Trotter, Mr, actor, at Worthing, ii. 258
Trotter, Rear-Admiral Henry Dundas, ii. 217
True Britain, The, ii. 42
Tufton, Ladies Caroline and Elizabeth, in Paris, i. 260, 263, 267
Tunbridge, ii. 253
Tunbridge Wells, T. C. at, ii. 93-8, 297-304, 372
Turenne, Pope on, ii. 302
Turin, General Sinclair, Ambassador in, i. 137 *note*
— Lord Mountstuart minister in, i. 153; ii. 116, 117
— Mr Poyntz in, i. 86
— Sir G. Staunton in, ii. 7
— T. C. in, i. 282
Turkey aids Sweden against Russia, i. 247
— English relations with, ii. 351
— Pitt's policy with regard to, ii. 8 *note*
Turton, Dr, attends Lady Louisa Gordon, i. 31
Tweedmouth, 1st Lord, i. 13
Twelfth Night, Miss Mellon in, ii. 282
Twining's Gunpowder Green Tea, ii. 296
Tyrol, T. C. in the, i. 270, 283, 286; ii. 130
Tyrwhitt, Sir Thomas, arranges royal finances, ii. 186
— his letters to T. C., ii. 187, 188
— slights William Smith, ii. 387

U

Ulverstone, Harriot Mellon at, ii. 231-3
Undertakers, the, their protest against Townshend, i. 71 *note*
Union Bank of Scotland, lineal representative of Messrs Coutts, i. 23 *note*, 49
United States of America, Preliminary Treaty of Peace, i. 64, 148 *note*, 156, 159. *See* American War of Independence
Upper-Ossory, John, 1st Earl of, i. 218 *note*
Ushant, battle off, i. 110, 118 *note*
Utrecht, ii. 58
Uxbridge, Lord, his country seat, ii. 31

V

Valleyfield, Preston of, T. C. visits, i. 182, 200
Valois, Miss, actress, ii. 232
Vancouver Island, Nootka Sound, i. 287 *note*
Vansittart, Mr, arranges Queen Caroline's allowance, ii. 200
Vatican, the, Sir John Hippisley at, i. 128 *note*
Vaughan, Herbert M., *The Last of the Royal Stuarts*, i. 273 *note*; ii. 53 *note*, 110, 111
Vaughan, John Taylor, dines with T. C., ii. 339
Venice, Burdett in, ii. 124
— Cardinal of York at, ii. 111, 112
— Conclave at, ii. 112
— Count Zenobio of, ii. 130
— Reck & Co., bankers in, ii. 109, 112
— T. C. in, i. 282
Verona, T. C. at, i. 270, 286
Versailles, Count Zenobio at, ii. 130 *note*
— Duke of Dorset at, i. 259 *note*, 266
— Court of, Earl of Stair at, i. 66
Vestris, Madame, actress, Miss Mellon compared with, ii. 236 *note*
Vevey, Burdett in, ii. 123
— T. C. at, i. 255
Victoria and Albert Museum, T. C.'s clothes at, ii. 395

Victoria, Queen, her father, the Duke of Kent, ii. 156, 159
— her Uncle Leopold, ii. 372
Victory, H.M.S., ii. 177
Vienna, Burdett in, ii. 124
— General Sinclair ambassador in, i. 137 *note*
— Lord Minto, ambassador in, ii. 109, 112
— Sir Robert Murray Keith, ambassador at, ii. 117

W

Waddington, Mr, ii. 142
Waggenheim, Baron, Duke of Kent a pupil of, ii. 148
Walcheren, expedition to, ii. 261, 262
Waldegrave, Maria, Lady, her marriage, i. 92 *note*
Waldershare, seat of the Earls of Guilford, ii. 70, 78, 81, 103
— Lady Susan North born at, ii. 335
— T. C. at, ii. 88, 90, 92
Walham Green, Captain Starkie's house at, i. 26, 34
Walker, lawyer to Colonel Crawfurd, ii. 27
Walkinshaw, Catharine, ii. 48
Walkinshaw, Clémentine Marie Sophie, her career, ii. 44-52
— her correspondence with T. C., i. 26 *note*, 62; ii. 7 *note*
— her relations with Charles Edward, i. 62; ii. 85
Walkinshaw, John, i. 62
— his daughters, ii. 45
Walkinshaw, Robina, mother of Colonel Crawfurd, i. 62
Walmer Castle, Pitt at, ii. 56, 103, 138, 347
Walpole, Horace, *his Catalogue of Royal and Honourable Authors*, quoted, i. 67
— his friend William Call, i. 68 *note*
— writes to Pitt, i. 298, 303
— on James Grenville, i. 87 *note*
— on Lord Guilford's marriage, ii. 71
Walpole, Hon. Thomas, at Hayes, i. 298, 299
Walton, i. 178 *note*
Wardour, Miss, i. 8
War Loans, English, T. C. on, i. 133 143, 156; ii. 59, 61, 80
Warren, Dr Richard, T. C. on, i. 57
Warrington, Colonel Crawfurd at, i. 189, 190
Warsaw, Lord Dalrymple in, i. 133 *note*, 140, 147
Washington, George, invests Yorktown, i. 138 *note*
— orders the execution of André, i. 132 *note*
Watson, Frederick B., secretary to the Prince Regent, ii. 187
Wedderburn, Alexander. *See* Lord Loughborough
Wedderburn, Home of, i. 241, 257
Wellesley, Marquis of, Governor-General of India, T. C.'s letter to, ii. 107
— takes Seringapatam, ii. 6 *note*
Wellington, Arthur, 1st Duke of, his dislike of the Duke of Kent, ii. 150, 151
— rides in the Park, ii. 188
— Seringapatam taken under, ii. 6 *note*
— T. C. on, ii. 304, 308
Wemyss, Earl of, client of John Campbell, i. 37
Wentworth, Barony of, i. 145 *note*
West Indies, the, British possessions in, i. 162 *note*
— death of James Pitt in, i. 100 *note*
— Duke of Kent in, ii. 151
— English and French fleets in, i. 94, 111, 115, 118, 121, 222
Westmacott, Richard Molloy, editor of the *Age*, ii. 284-7
Westminster Elections, i. 183 *and note*, 184, 251; ii. 73, 205, 263, 273
Westminster Hall, trial of Hastings in, i. 240
Westmoreland, Lord, made a K.G., ii. 19
Wewitzer, Ralph, actor, buys a lottery-ticket for Miss Mellon, ii. 245-7, 287
— in the King's bench, ii. 292
Weymouth, Lord, ambassador, i. 85
Wheel of Fortune, The, production of, ii. 299 *note*

Whig Club, the, Gentleman Smith at, ii. 387
Whitbread, Samuel, at the trial of Lord Melville, ii. 214
Whitefoord, Caleb, contributes to Almon's journals, i. 123 *note*
— Harris' friendship with, i. 254, 256
— his friendship with Franklin, i. 64, 89
— his friendship with T. C., i. 63-6, 177, 233; ii. 87, 114
— in Paris negotiating peace with America, i. 148
— on Mrs Coutts, i. 35
— T. C.'s correspondence with, i. 21, 22, 28, 70, 72, 148, 211, 242, 247-9, 256, 262, 264; ii. 3, 22, 29-43, 57, 61 *note*, 65-71, 79-82, 90, 91, 95-101, 114, 219
— wins a share in the Adelphi Lottery, i. 729
Whitefoord, Colonel Charles, at Prestonpans, i. 63
Whitefoord, Sir John, contests Ayrshire, i. 177
Whitefoord Papers, The, collection of, i. 63
— quoted, i. 49 *note*, 54, 67, 251
Whitehead, calls on T. C., ii. 267
Whitsome Hill, Berwickshire, i. 43
Who's the Dupe? production of, i. 242
Wickham, William, T. C.'s letter to, ii. 66, 79
— his career, ii. 66 *note*
Wigan, Entwisle of, ii. 230
Wigan, Sir R. Clayton of, ii. 332
Wilkes, John, Almon friend of, i. 123 *note*
— Boswell's letter to, ii. 116 *note*
Wilkie. wine-cooper, i. 204
Wilkinson, Tate, manager of the York Company, ii. 285
Willcocks, J., his invitation to T. C., i. 145
William I., King, i. 146
William III., King, proclaimed in Belfast, i. 289
William IV., King, as Duke of Clarence, his friendly relations with T. C., ii. 57, 156, 181, 183-5, 191, 192, 196, 318 *note*, 394
— his marriage, ii. 192, 196
— his reign, ii. 156
William Pitt, by Dr von Ruville, i. 100 *note*
Williams, Mrs, her lottery ticket, i. 146
Wimbledon, Sir F. Burdett's house at, ii. 125, 270, 271, 273, 310
— T. C. at, ii. 255
Wimbledon Common, duel on, i. 276
Winchelsea, Lord, as second to Colonel Lennox, i. 278
Winchester College, Lord Bute at, ii. 116
Windham, Rt. Hon. William, C. J. Fox's letter to, i. 281
— T. C.'s letter to, ii. 223-5
Windsor, ball at, ii. 23
— Dr Ruddiman at, ii. 277-9
— George Inn, ii. 392
Windsor, Earl of, ii. 116. *See* 1st Marquis of Bute
Windsor, Herbert, Viscount, his daughter, i. 154 *note*; ii. 116
Wood family, the, i. 6 *note*
Wood, Alderman Matthew, befriends Queen Caroline, ii. 201
— refuses to support Burdett, ii. 266
Woodfall, H. S., his letter to C. Whitefoord, i. 49
Woodford, Sir John, his villa on Derwentwater, i. 224 *note*
Wordsworth, William, in Paris, ii. 123
— in Switzerland, ii. 217 *note*
— toasts John Milton, i. 16
Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, ii. 9 *note*
World, The, Whitefoord contributes to, i. 262
Worthing, T. C. at, ii. 255-60
Wotton, Richard Grenville of, i. 87 *note*, 91, 178 *note*
Wray, Sir Cecil, contests Westminster, i. 183 *note*
Wright, banker of Stafford, ii. 233, 298
Wright, Mrs, her school, i. 34
Wrottesley, Sir John, equerry to Edward, Duke of York, i. 69 *and note*
Wroxton, Guilford vault at, ii. 78, 217, 311, 312 *note*
Wurmser, T. C. on, ii. 39
Würtemberg, King of, his marriage, i. 128 *note*

Wyatt, architect of Castle Hill Lodge, ii. 158
Wyndham, Percy, his *Strictures on an Impostor*, ii. 245, 246, 287
Wynn, H. W., his friendship with Lady H. Stanhope, ii. 349

Y

Yarmouth, ii. 131
Yates, Frederick, actor, at the Adelphi, ii. 384
Yonge, Sir George, Colonel Crawfurd's letters to, i. 289
York, county of, petitions Parliament, i. 127
York Theatre, Miss Mellon appears at, ii. 285
York, Cardinal Duke of, his career, ii. 110
— his pension and wealth, i. 128 *note*, 271, 273; ii. 45, 50, 51, 109-113, 118, 128, 132
— his will, ii. 113
— receives T. C. at Frascati, i. 270-273; ii. 13 *note*, 146
— reduces pension of the Countess d'Alberstroff, ii. 50, 51, 67, 111-3, 128, 132, 142
York, Edward, Duke of, his career and death, i. 68 *and note*
York, Frederick, Duke of, as Commander-in-Chief, his dislike of the Duke of Kent, ii. 153, 155, 157, 158, 172, 175-7
— at Cheltenham, i. 248
— client of T. C., ii. 157, 162
— his annuity, ii. 376
— his career, ii. 157
York, Frederick, Duke of, his duel with Colonel Lennox, i. 276-8
— his friendship with Lord and Lady Bute, ii. 182, 357 *note*
— his influence on behalf of T. C., i. 261, 264; ii. 24, 26
— his legacy and sinecure, ii. 187
— promotes Lieut. Hall, ii. 143, 144
— Susan Coutts on, i. 239
— T. C. on, i. 213, 220
— T. C.'s relations with, ii. 147, 156, 181-5, 190, 193-5, 197, 318 *note*, 331, 335, 372, 392
Yorke, Charles Philip, M.P. for Cambridgeshire, ii. 261-3
Yorktown, investment of, i. 138 *note*, 141
Youlston, Barnstaple, T. C. at, ii. 220
Yverdon, T. C. at, i 255

Z

Zeerleder, banker of Berne, ii. 68, 79, 94, 105, 109
Zenobio, Count, his career, ii. 130-2
— T. C. on, ii. 43
Zerbino, Marra of, ii. 380, 381
Zoutman, Admiral, commands the Dutch fleet, i. 134 *note*
Zug, T. C. at, i. 255
Zulestein, William Henry de Nassau. *See* Lord Rochford
Zurich, Fuseli at, ii. 389
— T. C. at, i. 255
— Lake of, Goddard drowned in, ii. 217 *note*

Coleridge, E.

The life of Thomas Coutts

DA
506
.C85
C6
v.2